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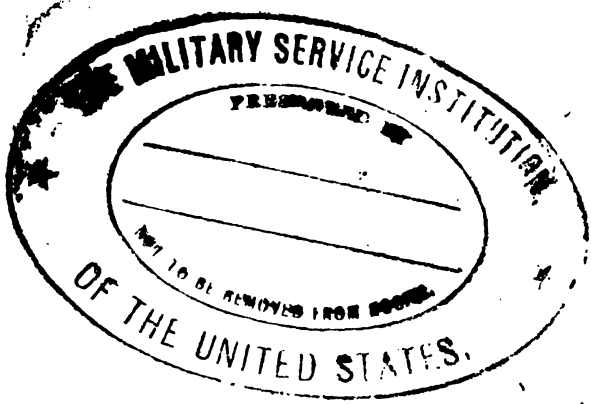
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THE

WORKS

OF THE

Rev. Dr. Jonathan Swift,

DEAN OF ST. PATRICK's, DUBLIN.

ARRANGED, REVISED, AND CORRECTED,
WITH NOTES,
By THOMAS SHERIDAN, A. M.

A NEW EDITION,
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THE

THE DIFFICULTY OF KNOWING ONE'S SELF *.

2 KINGS viii. Part of the 13th Verſe.

And Hazael ſaid, But what! is thy ſervant a dog, that he ſhould do this great thing?

WE have a very ſingular inſtance of the deceitfulneſs of the heart, repreſented to us in the perſon of Hazael: who was ſent to the prophet Eliſha, to enquire of the Lord, concerning his maſter the king of Syria's recovery. For the man of God, having told him that the king might

* When I firſt gave this ſermon to be publiſhed, I had ſome doubts whether it were genuine; for, though I found it in the ſame parcel with three others in the Dean's own hand, and there was a great ſimilitude in the writing, yet as ſome of the letters were differently cut, and the hand in general much fairer than his, I gave it to the world as dubious. But as ſome manuſcripts of his early poems have ſince fallen into my hands, tranſcribed by Stella, I found, upon comparing them, that the writing was exactly the ſame with that of the ſermon; which was therefore copied by her. Swift, in his journal to that lady, takes notice that he had been her writing-maſter, and that there was ſuch a ſtrong reſemblance between their hands, as gave occaſion to ſome of his friends to rally him, upon ſeeing ſome of her letters addreſſed to him at the bar of the coffee-houſe, by aſking him, how long he had taken up the cuſtom of writing letters to himſelf? So that I can now fairly give it to the Public as one of his, and not at all unworthy of the author.

recover from the diſorder he was then labouring under, began to ſet and faſten his countenance upon him of a ſudden, and to break out into the moſt violent expreſſions of ſorrow, and a deep concern for it; whereupon, when Hazael, full of ſhame and confuſion, aſked, "Why weepeth "my lord?" he anſwered, "Becauſe I know all "the evil that thou wilt do unto the children of "Iſrael; their ſtrong holds wilt thou ſet on fire, "and their young men wilt thou ſlay with the "ſword, and wilt daſh their children, and rip up "their women with child." Thus much did the man of God ſay and know of him, by a light darted into his mind from Heaven. But Hazael, not knowing himſelf ſo well as the other did, was ſtartled and amazed at the relation, and would not believe it poſſible, that a man of his temper could ever run out into ſuch enormous inſtances of cruelty and inhumanity. "What!" ſays he, "is thy ſervant a dog, that he ſhould do this "great thing?"

And yet, for all this, it is highly probable, that he was then that man he could not imagine himſelf to be; for we find him, on the very next day after his return, in a very treacherous and diſloyal manner, murdering his own maſter, and uſurping his kingdom; which was but a prologue to the ſad tragedy which he afterwards acted upon the people of Iſrael.

And now the caſe is but very little better with moſt men than it was with Hazael; however it cometh to paſs, they are wonderfully unacquainted with

with their own temper and diſpoſition, and know very little of what paſſeth within them: for, of ſo many proud, ambitious, revengeful, envying, and ill-natured perſons that are in the world, where is there one of them, who, although he hath all the ſymptoms of the vice appearing upon every occaſion, can look with ſuch an impartial eye upon himſelf, as to believe that the imputation thrown upon him is not altogether groundleſs and unfair? who, if he were told, by men of a diſcerning ſpirit and a ſtrong conjecture, of all the evil and abſurd things which that falſe heart of his would at one time or other betray him into, would not believe as little, and wonder as much, as Hazael did before him? Thus for inſtance; tell an angry perſon, that he is weak and impotent, and of no conſiſtency of mind; tell him, that ſuch or ſuch a little accident which he may then deſpiſe and think much below a paſſion, ſhall hereafter make him ſay and do ſeveral abſurd, indiſcreet, and miſbecoming things: he may perhaps own that he hath a ſpirit of reſentment within him, that will not let him be impoſed on; but he fondly imagines, that he can lay a becoming reſtraint upon it when he pleaſeth, although it is ever running away with him into ſome indecency or other.

Therefore, to bring the words of my text to our preſent occaſion, I ſhall endeavour, in a farther proſecution of them, to evince the great neceſſity of a nice and curious inſpection into the ſeveral receſſes of the heart, being the ſureſt and the

ſhorteſt method that a wicked man can take to reform himſelf: for let us but ſtop the fountain, and the ſtreams will ſpend and waſte themſelves away in a very little time; but, if we go about, like children, to raiſe a bank, and to ſtop the current, not taking notice all the while of the ſpring which continually feedeth it, when the next flood of temptation riſeth and breaketh in upon it, then we ſhall find that we have begun at the wrong end of our duty; and that we are very little more the better for it, than if we had ſat ſtill, and made no advances at all.

But, in order to a clearer explanation of the point, I ſhall ſpeak to theſe following particulars;

Firſt, by endeavouring to prove, from particular inſtances, that man is generally the moſt ignorant creature in the world of himſelf.

Secondly, By enquiring into the grounds and reaſons of his ignorance.

Thirdly, and laſtly, By propoſing ſeveral advantages, that do moſt aſſuredly attend a due improvement in the knowledge of ourſelves.

Firſt, then, To prove that man is generally the moſt ignorant creature in the world of himſelf.

To purſue the heart of man through all the inſtances of life, in all its ſeveral windings and turnings, and under that infinite variety of ſhapes and appearances which it putteth on, would be a difficult and almoſt impoſſible undertaking; ſo that I ſhall confine myſelf to ſuch as have a nearer reference to the preſent occaſion, and do, upon a cloſer

cloſer view, ſhew themſelves through the whole buſineſs of repentance. For we all know what it is to repent; but whether he repenteth him truly of his ſins or not, who can know it?

Now the great duty of repentance is chiefly made up of theſe two parts; a hearty ſorrow for the follies and miſcarriages of the time paſt, and a full purpoſe and reſolution of amendment for the time to come. And now, to ſhew the falſeneſs of the heart in both theſe parts of repentance: and,

Firſt, As to a hearty ſorrow for the ſins and miſcarriages of the time paſt. Is there a more uſual thing than for a man to impoſe upon himſelf, by putting on a grave and demure countenance, by caſting a ſevere look into his paſt conduct, and making ſome few pious and devout reflections upon it; and then to believe that he hath repented to an excellent purpoſe, without ever letting it ſtep forth into practice, and ſhew itſelf in a holy converſation? Nay, ſome perſons do carry the deceit a little higher; who, if they can but bring themſelves to weep for their ſins, are then full of an ill-grounded confidence and ſecurity; never conſidering, that all this may prove to be no more than the very garb and outward dreſs of a contrite heart, which another heart, as hard as the nether mill-ſtone, may as well put on. For, tears and ſighs, however in ſome perſons they may be decent and commendable expreſſions of a godly ſorrow, are neither neceſſary nor infallible ſigns of a true and unfeigned repentance. Not neceſſary,

becauſe ſometimes, and in ſome perſons, the inward grief and anguiſh of the mind may be too big to be expreſſed by ſo little a thing as a tear, and then it turneth its edge inwards upon the mind; and, like thoſe wounds of the body which bleed inwardly, generally proves the moſt fatal and dangerous to the whole body of ſin: not infallible, becauſe a very ſmall portion of ſorrow, may make ſome tender diſpoſitions melt, and break out into tears; or a man may perhaps weep at parting with his ſins, as he would bid the laſt farewell to an old friend.

But there is ſtill a more pleaſant cheat in this affair, that when we find a deadneſs, and a ſtrange kind of unaptneſs and indiſpoſition to all impreſſions of religion, and that we cannot be as truly ſorry for our ſins as we ſhould be, we then pretend to be ſorry that we are not more ſorry for them; which is not more abſurd and irrational, than that a man ſhould pretend to be very angry at a thing, becauſe he did not know how to be angry at all.

But, after all, what is wanting in this part of repentance, we expect to make up in the next; and to that purpoſe we put on a reſolution of amendment, which we take to be as firm as a houſe built upon a rock; ſo that, let the floods ariſe, and the winds blow, and the ſtreams beat vehemently upon it, nothing ſhall ſhake it into ruin or diſorder. We doubt not, upon the ſtrength of this reſolve, to ſtand faſt and unmoved amid the ſtorm of a temptation; and do firmly believe, at the time we make it, that nothing in the world

world will ever be able to make us commit thoſe ſins over again, which we have ſo firmly reſolved againſt.

Thus many a time have we come to the ſacrament of the Lord's Supper, with a full purpoſe of amendment, and with as full a perſuaſion of putting that ſame purpoſe into practice; and yet have we not all as often broke that purpoſe, and falſified that ſame purſuaſion, by ſtarting aſide, like a broken bow, into thoſe very ſins, which we then ſo ſolemnly and ſo confidently declared againſt?

Whereas had but any other perſon entered with us into a vow ſo ſolemn, that he had taken the Holy Sacrament upon it; I believe, had he but once deceived us by breaking in upon the vow, we ſhould hardly ever after be prevailed upon to truſt that man again, although we ſtill continue to truſt our own fears, againſt reaſon and againſt experience.

This indeed is a dangerous deceit enough, and will of courſe betray all thoſe well-meaning perſons into ſin and folly, who are apt to take religion for a much eaſier thing than it is: but this is not the only miſtake we are apt to run into; we do not only think ſometimes that we can do more than we can do, but ſometimes that we are incapable of doing ſo much: an error of another kind indeed, but not leſs dangerous, ariſing from a diffidence and falſe humility. For how much a wicked man can do in the buſineſs of religion, if he would but do his beſt, is very often more than he can tell.

Thus nothing is more common than to ſee a wicked man running headlong into ſin and folly, againſt his reaſon, againſt his religion, and againſt his God. Tell him, that what he is going to do will be an infinite diſparagement to his underſtanding, which, at another time, he ſetteth no ſmall value upon; tell him, that it will blacken his reputation, which he had rather die for than loſe; tell him, that the pleaſure of ſin is ſhort and tranſient, and leaveth a vexatious kind of ſting behind it, which will very hardly be drawn forth; tell him, that this is one of thoſe things for which God will moſt ſurely bring him to judgment, which he pretendeth to believe with a full aſſurance and purſuaſion: and yet, for all this, he ſhutteth his eyes againſt all conviction, and ruſheth into the ſin, like a horſe into battle; as if he had nothing left to do, but, like a ſilly child, to wink hard, and to think to eſcape a certain and infinite miſchief, only by endeavouring not to ſee it.

And now, to ſhew that the heart hath given in a falſe report of the temptation, we may learn from this; that the ſame weak man would reſiſt and maſter the ſame powerful temptation, upon conſiderations of infinitely leſs value than thoſe which religion offereth; nay, ſuch vile conſiderations that the grace of God cannot without blaſphem be ſuppoſed to add any manner of force and efi cacy to them. Thus, for inſtance, it would be hard matter to dreſs up a ſin in ſuch ſoft ar tempting circumſtances, that a truly covetous m would not reſiſt for a conſiderable ſum of mone

when neither the hopes of heaven, nor the fears of hell, could make an impreſſion upon him before. But can any thing be a ſurer indication of the deceitfulneſs of the heart, than thus to ſhew more courage, reſolution, and activity, in an ill cauſe, than it doth in a good one? and to exert itſelf to better purpoſe, when it is to ſerve its own pride, or luſt, or revenge, or any other paſſion, than when it is to ſerve God upon motives of the goſpel, and upon all the arguments that have ever been made uſe of to bring men over to religion and a good life? And thus, having ſhewn that man is wonderfully apt to deceive and impoſe upon himſelf, in paſſing through the ſeveral ſtages of that great duty, repentance; I proceed now, in the

Second place, To enquire into the grounds and reaſons of this ignorance, "and to ſhew whence "it cometh to paſs that man, the only creature "in the world that can reflect and look into "himſelf, ſhould know ſo little of what paſſeth "within him, and be ſo very much unacquainted "even with the ſtanding diſpoſitions and com-"plexion of his own heart." The prime reaſon of it is, becauſe we ſo very ſeldom converſe with ourſelves, and take ſo little notice of what paſſeth within us: for a man can no more know his own heart, than he can know his own face, any other way than by reflexion: he may as well tell over every feature of the ſmaller portions of his face without the help of a looking-glaſs, as he can tell all the inward bents and tendencies of

the

the ſoul, thoſe ſtanding features and lineaments of the inward man, and know all the various changes that this is liable to from cuſtom, from paſſion, and from opinion, without a very frequent uſe of looking within himſelf.

For, our paſſions and inclinations are not always upon the wing, and always moving towards their reſpective objects; but retire now and then into the more dark and hidden receſſes of the heart, where they lie concealed for a while, until a freſh occaſion calls them forth again: ſo that not every tranſient, oblique glance upon the mind, can bring a man into a thorough knowledge of all its ſtrength and weakneſſes; for, a man may ſometimes turn the eye of the mind inward upon itſelf, as he may behold his natural face in a glaſs, and go away, "and ſtrait forget what manner of "man he was." But a man muſt rather ſit down and unravel every action of the paſt day into all its circumſtances and particularities, and obſerve how every little thing moved and affected him, and what manner of impreſſion it made upon his heart: this, done with that frequency and carefulneſs which the importance of the duty doth require, would, in a ſhort time, bring him into a nearer and more intimate acquaintance with himſelf.

But when men, inſtead of this, do paſs away months and years in a perfect ſlumber of the mind, without once awaking it, it is no wonder they ſhould be ſo very ignorant of themſelves, and know very little more of what paſſeth within them

than

than the very beaſts which periſh. But here it may not be amiſs to enquire into the reaſons why moſt men have ſo little converſation with themſelves.

And firſt, Becauſe this reflexion is a work and labour of the mind, and cannot be performed without ſome pain and difficulty: for, before a man can reflect upon himſelf, and look into his heart with a ſteady eye, he muſt contract his ſight, and collect all his ſcattering and roving thoughts into ſome order and compaſs, that he may be able to take a clear and diſtinct view of them; he muſt retire from the world for a while, and be unattentive to all impreſſions of ſenſe; and how hard and painful a thing muſt it needs be to a man of paſſion and infirmity, amid ſuch a crowd of objects that are continually ſtriking upon the ſenſe, and ſoliciting the affections, not to be moved and interrupted by one or other of them! But,

Secondly, Another reaſon why we ſo ſeldom converſe with ourſelves, is, becauſe the buſineſs of the world taketh up all our time, and leaveth us no portion of it to ſpend upon this great work and labour of the mind. Thus twelve or fourteen years paſs away before we can well diſcern good from evil; and of the reſt, ſo much goeth away in ſleep, ſo much in the proper buſineſs of our callings, that we have none to lay out upon the more ſerious and religious employments. Every man's life is an imperfect ſort of a circle, which he repeateth and runneth over every day; he hath a ſet of thoughts, deſires, and inclinations, which return

return upon him in their proper time and order, and will very hardly be laid aſide to make room for any thing new and uncommon: ſo that call upon him when you pleaſe to ſet about the ſtudy of his own heart, and you are ſure to find him pre-engaged; either he hath ſome buſineſs to do, or ſome diverſion to take, ſome acquaintance that he muſt viſit, or ſome company that he muſt entertain, or ſome croſs accident hath put him out of humour, and unfitted him for ſuch a grave employment. And thus it cometh to paſs, that a man can never find leiſure to look into himſelf, becauſe he doth not ſet apart ſome portion of the day for that very purpoſe, but fooliſhly deferreth from one day to another, until his glaſs is almoſt run out, and he is called upon to give a miſerable account of himſelf in the other world. But,

Thirdly, Another reaſon why a man doth not more frequently converſe with himſelf, is, becauſe ſuch converſation with his own heart may diſcover ſome vice or ſome infirmity lurking within him, which he is very unwilling to believe himſelf guilty of. For can there be a more ungrateful thing to a man, than to find that upon a nearer view, he is not that perſon he took himſelf to be? that he had neither the courage, nor the honeſty, nor the piety, nor the humility, that he dreamed he had? that a very little pain, for inſtance, putteth him out of patience, and as little pleaſure ſofteneth and diſarmeth him into eaſe and wantonneſs? that he hath been at more pains, and labour, and coſt, to be revenged of an enemy, than to oblige the beſt

beſt friend he hath in the world? that he cannot bring himſelf to ſay his prayers without a great deal of reluctancy; and when he doth ſay them, the ſpirit and fervour of devotion evaporate in a very ſhort time; and he can ſcarely hold out a prayer of ten lines, without a number of idle and impertinent, if not vain and wicked thoughts coming into his head? Theſe are very unwelcome diſcoveries that a man may make of himſelf; ſo that it is no wonder that every one, who is already fluſhed with a good opinion of himſelf, ſhould rather ſtudy how to run away from it, than how to converſe with his own heart.

But farther. If a man were both able and willing to retire into his own heart, and to ſet apart ſome portion of the day for that very purpoſe; yet he is ſtill diſabled from paſſing a fair and impartial judgment upon himſelf, by ſeveral difficulties, ariſing partly from prejudice and prepoſſeſſion, partly from the lower appetites and inclinations. And,

Firſt, That the buſineſs of prepoſſeſſion may lead and betray a man into a falſe judgement of his own heart. For we may obſerve, that the firſt opinion we take up of any thing, or any perſon, doth generally ſtick cloſe to us; the nature of the mind being ſuch, that it cannot but deſire, and conſequently endeavour to have ſome certain principles to go upon, ſomething fixed and unmoveable, whereon it may reſt and ſupport itſelf. And hence it cometh to paſs, that ſome perſons are with ſo much difficulty brought to think well of a man

they

they have once entertained an ill opinion of: and, perhaps, that too for a very abſurd and unwarrantable reaſon. But how much more difficult then muſt it be for a man, who taketh up a fond opinion of his own heart long before he hath either years or ſenſe enough to underſtand it, either to be perſuaded out of it by himſelf, whom he loveth ſo well, or by another, whoſe intereſt or diverſion it may be to make him aſhamed of himſelf! Then,

Secondly, As to the difficulties ariſing from the inferior appetites and inclinations; let any man look into his own heart, and obſerve in how different a light, and under what different complexions, any two ſins of equal turpitude and malignity do appear to him, if he hath but a ſtrong inclination to the one, and none at all to the other. That which he hath an inclination to, is always dreſſed up in all the falſe beauty that a fond and buſy imagination can give it; the other, appeareth naked and deformed, and in all the true circumſtances of folly and diſhonour. Thus, Stealing is a vice that few gentlemen are inclined to; and they juſtly think it below the dignity of a man to ſtoop to ſo baſe and low a ſin; but no principle of honour, no workings of the mind and conſcience, not the ſtill voice of mercy, not the dreadful call of judgment, nor any conſiderations whatever, can put a ſtop to that violence and oppreſſion, that pride and ambition, that revelling and wantonneſs, which we every day meet with in the world. Nay, it is eaſy to obſerve very different thoughts in a man of the

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ſin that he is moſt fond of, according to the different ebbs and flows of his inclination to it. For, as ſoon as the appetite is alarmed, and ſeizeth upon the heart, a little cloud gathereth about the head, and ſpreadeth a kind of darkneſs over the face of the ſoul, whereby it is hindered from taking a clear and diſtinct view of things; but no ſooner is the appetite tired and ſatiated, but the ſame cloud paſſeth away like a ſhadow; and, a new light ſpringing up in the mind of a ſudden, the man ſeeth much more, both of the folly and of the danger of the ſin, than he did before.

And thus, having done with the ſeveral reaſons why man, the only creature in the world that can reflect and look into himſelf, is ſo very ignorant of what paſſeth within him, and ſo much unacquainted with the ſtanding dipoſitions and complexions of his own heart: I proceed now, in the

Third and laſt place, to lay down ſeveral advantages, that do, moſt aſſuredly, attend a due improvement in the knowledge of ourſelves. And,

Firſt, One great advantage is, that it tendeth very much to mortify and humble a man into a modeſt and low opinion of himſelf. For, let a man take a nice and curious inſpection into all the ſeveral regions of the heart, and obſerve every thing irregular and amiſs within him: for inſtance; how narrow and ſhort ſighted a thing is the underſtanding! upon how little reaſon do we take up an opinion, and upon how much leſs ſometimes do we lay it down again! how weak and falſe ground do we often walk upon, with the biggeſt

confidence and aſſurance! and how tremulous and doubtful are we very often, where no doubt is to be made! Again: how wild and impertinent, how buſy and incoherent a thing is the imagination, even in the beſt and wiſeſt men; inſomuch, that every man may be ſaid to be mad, but every man doth not ſhew it! Then, as to the paſſions; how noiſy, how turbulent, and how tumultuous are they! how eaſily are they ſtirred and ſet a-going, how eager and hot in the purſuit, and what ſtrange diſorder and confuſion do they throw a man into; ſo that he can neither think, nor ſpeak, nor act, as he ſhould do, while he is under the dominion of any one of them!

Thus, let every man look with a ſevere and impartial eye into all the diſtinct regions of the heart; and no doubt, ſeveral deformities and irregularities, that he never thought of, will open and diſcloſe themſelves upon ſo near a view; and rather make the man aſhamed of himſelf than proud.

Secondly, A due improvement in the knowledge of ourſelves doth certainly ſecure us from the ſly and inſinuating aſſaults of flattery. There is not in the world a baſer and more hateful thing than flattery; it proceedeth from ſo much falſeneſs and inſincerity in the man that giveth it, and often diſcovereth ſo much weakneſs and folly in the man that taketh it, that it is hard to tell which of the two is moſt to be blamed. Every man of common ſenſe can demonſtrate in ſpeculation, and may be fully convinced, that all the praiſes and commendations

ıdations of the whole world, can add no more
he real and intrinſic value of a man, than they
add to his ſtature. And yet, for all this,
ı of the beſt ſenſe and piety, when they come
'n to the practice, cannot forbear thinking
:h better of themſelves, when they have the
d fortune to be ſpoken well of by other per-
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ut the meaning of this abſurd proceeding ſeem-
to be no other than this; there are few men
have ſo intimate an acquaintance with their
ı hearts, as to know their own real worth, and
r to ſet a juſt rate upon themſelves; and
efore they do not know but that he who praiſes
n moſt, may be moſt in the right of it. For,
doubt, if a man were ignorant of the true value
ı thing he loved as well as himſelf, he would
ıſure the worth of it according to the eſteem
ıim who biddeth moſt for it, rather than of him
biddeth leſs.

Therefore, the moſt infallible way to diſentangle
ıan from the ſnares of flattery, is, to conſult
ſtudy his own heart; for whoever does that
l, will hardly be ſo abſurd as to take another
ı's word, before his own ſenſe and experience.

Thirdly, Another advantage from this kind of
ly is this, that it teacheth a man how to behave
ıſelf patiently, when he has the ill fortune to
cenſured and abuſed by other people. For a
ı, who is thoroughly acquainted with his own
rt, doth already know more evil of himſelf
ı any body elſe can tell him; and when any

one ſpeaketh ill of him, he rather thanketh God that he can ſay no worſe: for, could his enemy but look into the dark and hidden receſſes of the heart, he conſidereth what a number of impure thoughts he might there ſee brooding and hovering, like a dark cloud, upon the face of the ſoul; that there he might take a proſpect of the fancy, and view it acting over the ſeveral ſcenes of pride, of ambition, of envy, of luſt, and revenge; that there he might tell how often a vicious inclination hath been reſtrained, for no other reaſon, but juſt to ſave the man's credit or intereſt in the world; and how many unbecoming ingredients have entered into the compoſition of his beſt actions. And now, what man in the whole world would be able to bear ſo ſevere a teſt? to have every thought and inward motion of the heart laid open and expoſed to the views of his enemies? But,

Fourthly, and laſtly; Another advantage of this kind is, that it maketh men leſs ſevere upon other people's faults, and leſs buſy and induſtrious in ſpreading them. For a man, employed at home, inſpecting into his own failings, hath not leiſure to take notice of every little ſpot and blemiſh that lieth ſcattered upon others; or, if he cannot eſcape the ſight of them, he always paſſes the moſt eaſy and favourable conſtruction upon them. Thus, for inſtance, does the ill he knoweth of a man proceed from an unhappy temper and conſtitution of body? he then conſidereth with himſelf, how hard a thing it is, not to be borne down with the current

current of the blood and ſpirits; and accordingly layeth ſome part of the blame upon the weakneſs of human nature, for he hath felt the force and rapidity of it within his own breaſt; although perhaps, in another inſtance, he remembereth how it rageth and ſwelleth by oppoſition; and, although it may be reſtrained, or diverted for a while, yet it can hardly ever be totally ſubdued.

Or, has the man ſinned out of cuſtom? he then, from his own experience, traceth a habit into the very firſt riſe and imperfect beginnings of it; and can tell by how ſlow and inſenſible advances it creepeth upon the heart; how it worketh itſelf by degrees into the very frame and texture of it, and ſo paſſeth into a ſecond nature; and conſequently he hath a juſt ſenſe of the great difficulty for him to learn to do good, who hath been long accuſtomed to do evil.

Or, Laſtly, Hath a falſe opinion betrayed him into a ſin? he then calleth to mind what wrong apprehenſions he hath made of ſome things himſelf; how many opinions, that he once made no doubt of, he hath, upon a ſtricter examination, found to be doubtful, and uncertain; how many more to be unreaſonable and abſurd. He knoweth farther, that there are a great many more opinions that he hath never yet examined into at all, and which, however, he ſtill believeth, for no other reaſon, but becauſe he hath believed them ſo long already without a reaſon.

Thus, upon every occaſion, a man intimately acquainted with himſelf conſulteth his own heart,

and maketh every man's caſe to be his own, and ſo puts the moſt favourable interpretation upon it. Let every man therefore look into his own heart, before he beginneth to abuſe the reputation of another; and then he will hardly be ſo abſurd as to throw a dart that will ſo certainly rebound and wound himſelf. And thus, through the whole courſe of his converſation, let him keep an eye upon that one great comprehenſive rule of Chriſtian duty, on which hangeth not only the law and the prophets, but the very life and ſpirit of the goſpel too; "Whatſoever ye would that men ſhould do "unto you, do ye even ſo unto them." Which rule that we may all duly obſerve, by throwing aſide all ſcandal and detraction, all ſpite and rancour, all rudeneſs and contempt, all rage and violence, and whatever tendeth to make converſation and commerce either uneaſy or troubleſome, may the God of peace grant, for Jeſus Chriſt his ſake, &c.

Conſider what hath been ſaid; and the Lord give you a right underſtanding in all things. To whom, with the Son and the Holy Ghoſt, be all honour and glory, now and for ever.

A

SERMON

ON

THE TRINITY.

1 Epiſt. Gen. of St. JOHN, v. 7.

For there are three that bear record in Heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghoſt; and theſe Three are One.

THIS day being ſet apart to acknowledge our belief in the Eternal Trinity, I thought it might be proper to employ my preſent diſcourſe entirely upon that ſubject; and I hope to handle it in ſuch a manner, that the moſt ignorant among you may return home better informed of your duty in this great point, than probably you are at preſent.

It muſt be confeſſed, that by the weakneſs and indiſcretion of buſy, or at beſt of well-meaning people, as well as by the malice of thoſe who are enemies to all revealed religion, and are not content to poſſeſs their own infidelity in ſilence, without communicating it to the diſturbance of mankind; I ſay, by theſe means, it muſt be confeſſed, that the doctrine of the Trinity hath ſuffered very much, and made Chriſtianity ſuffer along with it. For

theſe two things muſt be granted: firſt, that men of wicked lives would be very glad there were no truth in Chriſtianity at all; and ſecondly, if they can pick out any one ſingle article in the Chriſtian religion, which appears not agreeable to their own corrupted reaſon, or to the arguments of thoſe bad people who follow the trade of ſeducing others, they preſently conclude, that the truth or the whole goſpel muſt ſink along with that one article. Which is juſt as wiſe, as if a man ſhould ſay, becauſe he diſlikes one law of his country, he will therefore obſerve no law at all; and yet that one law may be very reaſonable in itſelf, although he does not allow it, or does not know the reaſon of the law-givers.

Thus it hath happened with the great doctrine of the Trinity; which word is indeed not in ſcripture, but was a term of art invented in the earlier times to expreſs the doctrine by a ſingle word, for the ſake of brevity and convenience. The doctrine then as delivered in holy ſcripture, though not exactly in the ſame words, is very ſhort, and amounts only to this; that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, are each of them God, and yet there is but One God. For as to the word Perſon, when we ſay there are three Perſons; and as to thoſe other explanations in the Athanaſian creed this day read to you (whether compiled by Anathaſius or not) they were taken up three hundred years after Chriſt to expound this doctrine; and I will tell you upon what occaſion. About that time there ſprang up a hereſy of people called Arians, from one

one Arius the leader of them. Theſe denied our Saviour to be God, although they allowed all the reſt of the goſpel, wherein they were more ſincere than their followers among us. Thus the Chriſtian world was divided into two parts, till at length by the zeal and courage of St. Athanaſius, the Arians were condemned in a general council, and a creed formed upon the true faith, as St. Athanaſius hath ſettled it. This creed is now read at certain times in our churches, which although it is uſeful for edification to thoſe who underſtand it, yet ſince it contains ſome nice and philoſophical points which few people can comprehend, the bulk of mankind is obliged to believe no more than the ſcripture doctrine, as I have delivered it; becauſe that creed was intended only as an anſwer to the Arians in their own way, who were very ſubtle diſputers.

But this hereſy having revived in the world about a hundred years ago, and continued ever ſince; not out of a zeal to truth, but to give a looſe to wickedneſs by throwing off all religion; ſeveral divines, in order to anſwer the cavils of thoſe adverſaries to truth and morality, began to find out farther explanations of this doctrine of the Trinity by rules of philoſophy; which have multiplied controverſies to ſuch a degree, as to beget ſcruples that have perplexed the minds of many ſober Chriſtians, who otherwiſe could never have entertained them.

I muſt therefore be bold to affirm, that the method taken by many of thoſe learned men to de-

fend the doctrine of the Trinity, hath been founded upon a miſtake.

It muſt be allowed, that every man is bound to follow the rules and directions of that meaſure of reaſon which God hath given him; and indeed he cannot do otherwiſe, if he will be ſincere, or act like a man. For inſtance: if I ſhould be commanded by an angel from heaven to believe it is midnight at noon-day; yet I could not believe him. So if I were directly told in ſcripture that three are one, and one is three, I could not conceive or believe it in the natural common ſenſe of that expreſſion, but muſt ſuppoſe that ſomething dark or myſtical was meant, which it pleaſed God to conceal from me and from all the world. Thus in the text, "There are Three that bear record," &c. Am I capable of knowing and defining, what union and what diſtinction there may be in the divine nature, which poſſibly may be hid from the angels themſelves? Again, I ſee it plainly declared in ſcripture, that there is but one God; and yet I find our Saviour claiming the prerogative of God in knowing men's thoughts; in ſaying "He and his Father are one;" and "before "Abraham was, I am." I read, that the diſciples worſhipped him: That Thomas ſaid to him, "My "Lord and my God:" and St. John, chap. 1. "In the beginning was the word, and the word "was with God, and the word was God." I read likewiſe that the Holy Ghoſt beſtowed the gift of tongues, and the power of working miracles, which, if rightly conſidered, is as great a miracle

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as any, that a number of illiterate men ſhould of a ſudden be qualified to ſpeak all the languages then known in the world, ſuch as could be done by the inſpiration of God alone. From theſe ſeveral texts it is plain, that God commands us to believe there is a union, and there is a diſtinction; but what that union, or what that diſtinction is, all mankind are equally ignorant, and muſt continue ſo, at leaſt till the day of judgment, without ſome new revelation.

But becauſe I cannot conceive the nature of this union and diſtinction in the divine nature, am I therefore to reject them as abſurd and impoſſible, as I would if any one told me that three men are one, and one man is three? we are told, that a man and his wife are one fleſh; this I can comprehend the meaning of; yet, literally taken, it is a thing impoſſible. But the apoſtle tells us, "We ſee but in part, and we know but in part;" and yet we would comprehend all the ſecret ways and workings of God.

Therefore I ſhall again repeat the doctrine of the Trinity, as it is poſitively affirmed in ſcripture: that God is there expreſſed in three different names, as Father, as Son, and as Holy Ghoſt; that each of theſe is God, and that there is but one God. But this union and diſtinction are a myſtery utterly unknown to mankind.

This is enough for any good Chriſtian to believe on this great article, without ever inquiring any farther. And this can be contrary to no man's reaſon,

reaſon, although the knowledge of it is hid from him.

But there is another difficulty of great importance among thoſe who quarrel with the doctrine of the Trinity, as well as with ſeveral other articles of Chriſtianity; which is, that our religion abounds in myſteries, and theſe they are ſo bold as to revile as cant, impoſture, and prieſtcraft. It is impoſſible for us to determine, for what reaſons God thought fit to communicate ſome things to us in part, and leave ſome part a myſtery: but ſo it is in fact, and ſo the holy ſcriptures tell us in ſeveral places. For inſtance: the reſurrection and change of our bodies are called myſteries by St. Paul; our Saviour's incarnation is another; the kingdom of God is called a myſtery by our Saviour, to be only known to his diſciples; ſo is faith and the word of God by St. Paul: I omit many others. So that to declare againſt all myſteries without diſtinction or exception, is to declare againſt the whole tenor of the New Teſtament.

There are two conditions, that may bring a myſtery under ſuſpicion. Firſt, when it is not taught and commanded in holy writ; or ſecondly, when the myſtery turns to the advantage of thoſe who preach it to others. Now as to the firſt, it can never be ſaid, that we preach myſteries without warrant from holy ſcripture, although I confeſs this of the Trinity may have ſometimes been explained by human invention, which might perhaps better have been ſpared. As to the ſecond, it will not be poſſible to charge the Proteſtant

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prieſthood with propoſing any temporal advantage to themſelves by broaching, or multiplying, or preaching of myſteries. Does this myſtery of the Trinity, for inſtance, and the deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt, bring the leaſt profit or power to the preachers? No; it is as great a myſtery to themſelves as it is to the meaneſt of their hearers; and may be rather a cauſe of humiliation, by putting their underſtanding, in that point, upon a level with the moſt ignorant of their flock. It is true indeed, the Roman church hath very much enriched herſelf by trading in myſteries, for which they have not the leaſt authority from ſcripture, and which were fitted only to advance their own temporal wealth and grandeur; ſuch as tranſubſtantiation, the worſhipping of images, indulgences for ſins, purgatory, and maſſes for the dead; with many more. But it is the perpetual talent of thoſe whoſe who have ill-will to our church, or a contempt for all religion, taken up by the wickedneſs of their lives, to charge us with the errors and corruptions of popery, which all proteſtants have thrown off near two hundred years: whereas thoſe myſteries held by us, have no proſpect of power, pomp, or wealth, but have been ever maintained by the univerſal body of true believers from the days of the apoſtles, and will be ſo to the reſurrection; neither will the gates of hell prevail againſt them.

It may be thought perhaps a ſtrange thing, that God ſhould require us to believe myſteries, while the reaſon or manner of what we are to believe is

above our comprehenſion, and wholly concealed from us: neither doth it appear at firſt ſight, that the believing or not believing them doth concern either the glory of God, or contribute to the goodneſs or wickedneſs of our lives. But this is a great and dangerous miſtake. We ſee what a mighty weight is laid upon faith, both in the Old and New Teſtament. In the former we read, how the faith of Abraham is praiſed, who could believe that God would raiſe from him a great nation, at the very time that he was commanded to ſacrifice his only Son, and deſpaired of any other iſſue: and this was to him a great myſtery. Our Saviour is perpetually preaching faith to his diſciples, or reproaching them with the want of it; and St. Paul produceth numerous examples of the wonders done by faith. And all this is highly reaſonable; for, faith is an entire dependence upon the truth, the power, the juſtice, and the mercy of God; which dependence will certainly incline us to obey him in all things. So that the great excellency of faith conſiſts in the conſequence it hath upon our actions: as, if we depend upon the truth and wiſdom of a man, we ſhall certainly be more diſpoſed to follow his advice. Therefore let no man think that he can lead as good a moral life without faith, as with it; for this reaſon, becauſe he who hath no faith, cannot by the ſtrength of his own reaſon or endeavours ſo eaſily reſiſt temptations, as the other, who depends upon God's aſſiſtance in the overcoming of his frailties, and is ſure to be rewarded for ever in Heaven for his victory

victory over them. "Faith," ſays the apoſtle, "is the evidence of things not ſeen:" he means, that faith is a virtue, by which any thing commanded us by God to believe, appears evident and certain to us, although we do not ſee, nor can conceive it; becauſe by faith we entirely depend upon the truth and power of God.

It is an old and true diſtinction, that things may be above our reaſon, without being contrary to it. Of this kind are the power, the nature, and the univerſal preſence of God, with innumerable other points. How little do thoſe who quarrel with myſteries know of the commoneſt actions of nature! the growth of an animal, of a plant, or of the ſmalleſt ſeed, is a myſtery to the wiſeſt among men. If an ignorant perſon were told, that a loadſtone would draw iron at a diſtance, he might ſay it was a thing contrary to his reaſon, and could not believe before he ſaw it with his eyes.

The manner whereby the ſoul and body are united, and how they are diſtinguiſhed, is wholly unaccountable to us. We ſee but one part, and yet we know we conſiſt of two; and this is a myſtery we cannot comprehend, any more than that of the Trinity.

From what hath been ſaid, it is manifeſt, that God did never command us to believe, nor his miniſters to preach, any doctrine which is contrary to the reaſon he hath pleaſed to endow us with; but for his own wiſe ends has thought fit to conceal from us the nature of the thing he commands;

mands; thereby to try our faith and obedience, and increaſe our dependence upon him.

It is highly probable, that if God ſhould pleaſe to reveal unto us this great myſtery of the Trinity, or ſome other myſteries in our holy religion, we ſhould not be able to underſtand them, unleſs he would at the ſame time think fit to beſtow on us ſome new powers or faculties of the mind, which we want at preſent, and are reſerved till the day of reſurrection to life eternal. "For now," as the apoſtle ſays, "we ſee through a glaſs darkly, but "then face to face."

Thus, we ſee, the matter is brought to this iſſue; we muſt either believe what God directly commands us in holy ſcripture, or we muſt wholly reject the ſcripture, and the Chriſtian religion which we pretend to profeſs. But this, I hope, is too deſperate a ſtep for any of us to make.

I have already obſerved, that thoſe who preach up the belief of the Trinity, or of any other myſtery, cannot propoſe any temporal advantage to themſelves by ſo doing. But this is not the caſe of thoſe who oppoſe theſe doctrines. Do they lead better moral lives than a good Chriſtian? are they more juſt in their dealings? more chaſte, or temperate, or charitable? Nothing at all of this; but, on the contrary, their intent is to overthrow all religion, that they may gratify their vices without any reproach from the world, or their own conſcience; and are zealous to bring over as many others as they can to their own opinions; becauſe

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it is ſome kind of imaginary comfort to have a multitude on their ſide.

There is no miracle mentioned in holy writ, which, if it were ſtrictly examined, is not as much contrary to common reaſon, and as much a myſtery, as this doctrine of the Trinity; and therefore we may with equal juſtice deny the truth of them all. For inſtance: it is againſt the laws of nature, that a human body ſhould be able to walk upon the water, as St. Peter is recorded to have done; or that a dead carcaſe ſhould be raiſed from the grave after three days, when it began to corrupt; which thoſe who underſtand anatomy will pronounce to be impoſſible by the common rules of nature and reaſon. Yet theſe miracles, and many others, are poſitively affirmed in the goſpel; and theſe we muſt believe, or give up our holy religion to atheiſts and infidels.

I ſhall now make a few inferences and obſervations upon what has been ſaid.

Firſt, It would be well, if people would not lay ſo much weight on their own reaſon in matters of religion, as to think every thing impoſſible and abſurd which they cannot conceive. How often do we contradict the right rules of reaſon in the whole courſe of our lives? Reaſon itſelf is true and juſt, but the reaſon of every particular man is weak and wavering, perpetually ſwayed and turned by his intereſts, his paſſions, and his vices. Let any man but conſider, when he hath a controverſy with another, though his cauſe be ever ſo unjuſt, though the whole world be againſt him, how blinded

blinded he is by the love of himſelf, to believe that right is wrong, and wrong is right, when it makes for his own advantage. Where is then the right uſe of his reaſon, which he ſo much boaſts of, and which he would blaſphemouſly ſet up to controul the commands of the Almighty?

Secondly, When men are tempted to deny the myſteries of religion, let them examine and ſearch into their own hearts, whether they have not ſome favourate ſin, which is of their party in this diſpute, and which is equally contrary to other commands of God in the goſpel. For, why do men love darkneſs rather than light? The ſcripture tells us, "Becauſe their deeds are evil;" and there can be no other reaſon aſſigned. Therefore, when men are curious and inquiſitive to diſcover ſome weak ſides in Chriſtianity, and inclined to favour every thing that is offered to its diſadvantage, it is plain they wiſh it were not true; and thoſe wiſhes can proceed from nothing but an evil conſcience; becauſe, if there be truth in our religion, their condition muſt be miſerable.

And therefore, thirdly, men ſhould conſider, that raiſing difficulties concerning the myſteries in religion, cannot make them more wiſe, learned, or virtuous; better neighbours, or friends, or more ſerviceable to their country; but, whatever they pretend, will deſtroy their inward peace of mind by perpetual doubts and fears ariſing in their breaſts. And God forbid we ſhould ever ſee the times to [illegible] dangerous opinions in religion will be a means to get favour and preferment; although

though even in ſuch a caſe, it would be an ill traffick to gain the world, and loſe our own ſouls. So that upon the whole it will be impoſſible to find any real uſe towards a virtuous or happy life, by denying the myſteries of the goſpel.

Fourthly, Thoſe ſtrong unbelievers, who expect that all myſteries ſhould be ſquared and fitted to their own reaſon, might have ſomewhat to ſay for themſelves, if they could ſatisfy the general reaſon of mankind in their opinions; but herein they are miſerably defective, abſurd, and ridiculous; they ſtrain at a gnat, and ſwallow a camel: they can believe that the world was made by chance; that God doth not concern himſelf with things below; will neither puniſh vice nor reward virtue; that religion was invented by cunning men to keep the world in awe; with many other opinions equally falſe and deteſtable, againſt the common light of nature as well as reaſon; againſt the univerſal ſentiments of all civilized nations, and offenſive to the ears even of a ſober heathen.

Laſtly, Since the world abounds with peſtilent books particularly written againſt this doctrine of the Trinity; it is fit to inform you, that the authors of them proceed wholly upon a miſtake: they would ſhew how impoſſible it is, that three can be one, and one can be three; whereas the ſcripture ſaith no ſuch thing, at leaſt in that manner they would make it: but only that there is ſome kind of unity and diſtinction in the divine nature, which mankind cannot poſſibly comprehend: thus the whole doctrine is ſhort and plain,

and in itſelf incapable of any controverſy; ſince God himſelf hath pronounced the fact, but wholly concealed the manner. And therefore many divines, who thought fit to anſwer thoſe wicked books, have been miſtaken too by anſwering fools in their folly; and endeavovring to explain myſtery, which God intended to keep ſecret from us. And as I would exhort all men to avoid reading thoſe wicked books written againſt this doctrine, as dangerous and pernicious; ſo I think they may omit the anſwers, as unneceſſary. This I confeſs will probably affect but few or none among the generality of our congregations, who do not much trouble themſelves with books, at leaſt of this kind. However, many, who do not read themſelves, are ſeduced by others that do, and thus become unbelievers upon truſt and at ſecond hand; and this is too frequent a caſe: for which reaſon I have endeavoured to put this doctrine upon a ſhort and ſure foot, levelled to the meaneſt underſtanding; by which we may, as the apoſtle directs, be ready always to give an anſwer to every man that aſketh us a reaſon of the hope that is in us, with meekneſs and fear.

And thus I have done with my ſubject, which probably I ſhould not have choſen, if I had not been invited to it by the occaſion of this ſeaſon, appointed on purpoſe to celebrate the myſteries of the Trinity, and the deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt, wherein we pray to be kept ſtedfaſt in this faith; and what this faith is I have ſhewn you in the plaineſt manner I could. For, upon the whole, it is no

more than this: God commands us, by our dependence upon his truth, and his holy word, to believe a fact that we do not underſtand. And this is no more than what we do every day in the works of nature, upon the credit of men of learning. Without faith we can do no works acceptable to God; for, if they proceed from any other principle, they will not advance our ſalvation; and this faith, as I have explained it, we may acquire without giving up our ſenſes, or contradicting our reaſon. May God of his infinite mercy inſpire us with true faith in every article and myſtery of our religion, ſo as to diſpoſe us to do what is pleaſing in his ſight; and this we pray through Jeſus Chriſt, to whom, with the Father and the Holy Ghoſt, the myſterious incomprehenſible One GOD, be all honour and glory now and for evermore! *Amen.*

A

SERMON

ON

MUTUAL SUBJECTION.

1 St. PETER v. 5.

——— *Yea, all of you be ſubject one to another.*

THE apoſtle having in many parts of this epiſtle given directions to Chriſtians concerning the duty of ſubjection or obedience to ſuperiors; in the ſeveral inſtances of the ſubject to the prince, the child to his parent, the ſervant to his maſter, the wife to her huſband, and the younger to the elder; doth here, in the words of my text, ſum up the whole, by advancing a point of doctrine, which at firſt may appear a little extraordinary; "Yea, all of you," ſaith he, "be ſubject "one to another. For it ſhould ſeem, that two perſons cannot properly be ſaid to be ſubject to each other, and that ſubjection is only due from inferiors to thoſe above them: yet St. Paul hath ſeveral paſſages to the ſame purpoſe. For he exhorts the Romans, "in honour to prefer one ano-"ther;" and the Philippians, "that in lowlineſs "of mind they ſhould each eſteem other better "than themſelves;" and the Epheſians, that they ſhould "ſubmit themſelves one to another in the

" fear of the Lord." Here we find theſe two great apoſtles recommending to all Chriſtians this duty of mutual ſubjection. For we may obſerve by St. Peter, that having mentioned the ſeveral relations which men bear to each other, as governor and ſubject, maſter and ſervant, and the reſt which I have already repeated, he makes no exception, but ſums up the whole with commanding " all to " be ſubject one to another." Whence we may conclude, that this ſubjection due from all men to all men, is ſomething more than the compliment of courſe, when our betters are pleaſed to tell us they are our humble ſervants, but underſtand us to be their ſlaves.

I know very well, that ſome of thoſe who explain this text apply it to humility, to the duties of charity, to private exhortations, and to bearing with each other's infirmities; and it is probable the apoſtle may have had a regard to all theſe. But, however, many learned men agree, that there is ſomething more underſtood, and ſo the words in their plain natural meaning muſt import; as you will obſerve yourſelves, if you read them with the beginning of the verſe, which is thus; " Like- " wiſe ye younger ſubmit yourſelves unto the " elder; yea, all of you be ſubject one to ano- " ther." So that, upon the whole, there muſt be ſome kind of ſubjection due from every man to every man, which cannot be made void by any power, pre-eminence, or authority whatſoever. Now what ſort of ſubjection this is, and how it

ought to be paid, ſhall be the ſubject of my preſent diſcourſe.

As God hath contrived all the works of nature to be uſeful, and in ſome manner a ſupport to each other, by which the whole frame of the world, under his providence, is preſerved and kept up; ſo among mankind our particular ſtations are appointed to each of us by God Almighty, wherein we are obliged to act, as far as our power reacheth, towards the good of the whole community. And he who doth not perform that part aſſigned him towards advancing the benefit of the whole, in proportion to his opportunities and abilities, is not only a uſeleſs, but a very miſchievous member of the publick: becauſe he takes his ſhare of the profit, and yet leaves his ſhare of the burden to be borne by others, which is the true principal cauſe of moſt miſeries and misfortunes in life. For a wiſe man, who does not aſſiſt with his counſels; a great man, with his protection; a rich man, with his bounty and charity; and a poor man, with his labour; are perfect nuiſances in a commonwealth. Neither is any condition of life more honourable in the ſight of God than another; otherwiſe he would be a reſpecter of perſons, which he aſſures us he is not: for he hath propoſed the ſame ſalvation to all men, and hath only placed them in different ways or ſtations to work it out. Princes are born with no more advantages of ſtrength or wiſdom, than other men; and, by an unhappy education, are uſually more defective in both, than thouſands of their ſubjects. They depend for

every

every neceſſary of life upon the meaneſt of their people: beſides, obedience and ſubjection were never enjoined by God to humour the paſſions, luſts, and vanities of thoſe who demand them from us; but we are commanded to obey our governors, becauſe diſobedience would breed ſeditions in the ſtate. Thus ſervants are directed to obey their maſters, children their parents, and wives their huſbands; not from any reſpect of perſons in God, but becauſe otherwiſe there would be nothing but confuſion in private families. This matter will be clearly explained, by conſidering the comparison which St. Paul makes between the church of Chriſt, and the body of man: for the ſame reſemblance will hold, not only to families and kingdoms, but to the whole corporation of mankind. "The eye," ſaith he, "cannot ſay unto the hand, "I have no need of thee; nor again the hand to "the foot, I have no need of thee. Nay, much "more, thoſe members of the body which ſeem to "be more feeble, are neceſſary: and whether one "member ſuffer, all the members ſuffer with it; "or one member be honoured, all the members "rejoice with it." The caſe is directly the ſame among mankind. The prince cannot ſay to the merchant, I have no need of thee; nor the merchant to the labourer, I have no need of thee. Nay, much more thoſe members, which ſeem to be more feeble, are neceſſary. For the poor are generally more neceſſary members of the commonwealth than the rich: which clearly ſhews, that God never intended ſuch poſſeſſions for the ſake and ſervice of

thoſe to whom he lends them; but becauſe he hath aſſigned every man his particular ſtation to be uſeful in life, and this for the reaſon given by the apoſtle, "that there may be no ſchiſm in the "body."

From hence may partly be gathered the nature of that ſubjection, which we all owe to one another. God Almighty hath been pleaſed to put us into an imperfect ſtate, where we have perpetual occaſion of each other's aſſiſtance. There is none ſo low, as not to be in a capacity of aſſiſting the higheſt; nor ſo high, as not to want the aſſiſtance of the loweſt.

It plainly appears from what hath been ſaid, that no one human creature is more worthy than another in the ſight of God, farther than according to the goodneſs or holineſs of their lives; and that power, wealth, and the like outward advantages, are ſo far from being the marks of God's approving or preferring thoſe on whom they are beſtowed, that, on the contrary, he is pleaſed to ſuffer them to be almoſt engroſſed by thoſe who have leaſt title to his favour. Now, according to this equality wherein God hath placed all mankind with relation to himſelf, you will obſerve, that in all the relations between man and man, there is a mutual dependence, whereby the one cannot ſubſiſt without the other. Thus, no man can be a prince without ſubjects, nor a maſter without ſervants, nor a father without children. And this both explains and confirms the doctrine of the text; for where there is a mutual dependence

ence there muſt be a mutual duty, and conſequently a mutual ſubjection. For inſtance, the ſubject muſt obey his prince, becauſe God commands it, human laws require it, and the ſafety of the publick makes it neceſſary; for the ſame reaſons we muſt obey all that are in authority, and ſubmit ourſelves not only to the good and gentle, but alſo to the froward, whether they rule according to our liking or not. On the other ſide, in thoſe countries that pretend to freedom, princes are ſubject to thoſe laws which their people have choſen; they are bound to protect their ſubjects in liberty, property, and religion, to receive their petitions, and redreſs their grievances: ſo that the beſt prince is, in the opinion of wiſe men, only the greateſt ſervant of the nation; not only a ſervant to the publick in general, but in ſome ſort to every man in it. In the like manner, a ſervant owes obedience, and diligence, and faithfulneſs to his maſter; from whom at the ſame time he hath a juſt demand for protection, and maintenance, and gentle treatment. Nay, even the poor beggar hath a juſt demand of an alms from the rich man, who is guilty of fraud, injuſtice, and oppreſſion, if he does not afford relief according to his abilities.

But this ſubjection we all owe one another, is no where more neceſſary than in the common converſations of life; for without it there could be no ſociety among men. If the learned would not ſometimes ſubmit to the ignorant, the wiſe to the ſimple, the gentle to the froward, the old to the weakneſſes of the young, there would be nothing

but

but everlaſting variance in the world. This our Saviour himſelf confirmed by his own example; for he appeared in the form of a ſervant, and waſhed his diſciples feet, adding thoſe memorable words, "Ye call me Lord and Maſter, and ye ſay well, "for ſo I am. If I then your Lord and Maſter "waſh your feet, how much more ought ye to "waſh one another's feet?" Under which expreſſion of waſhing the feet, is included all that ſubjection, aſſiſtance, love, and duty, which every good Chriſtian ought to pay his brother, in whatever ſtation God hath placed him. For the greateſt prince, and the meaneſt ſlave, are not, by infinite degrees ſo diſtant, as our Saviour and thoſe diſciples, whoſe feet he vouchſafed to waſh.

And although this doctrine of ſubjecting ourſelves to one another may ſeem to grate upon the pride and vanity of mankind, and may therefore be hard to be digeſted by thoſe who value themſelves upon their greatneſs or their wealth; yet it is really no more than what moſt men practiſe upon other occaſions. For, if our neighbour who is our inferior comes to ſee us, we riſe to receive him, we place him above us, and reſpect him as if he were better than ourſelves; and this is thought both decent and neceſſary, and is uſually called good-manners. Now the duty required by the apoſtle, is only, that we ſhould enlarge our minds, and that what we thus practiſe in the common courſe of life, we ſhould imitate in all our actions and proceedings whatſoever; ſince our Saviour tells us, that every man is our neighbour, and ſince we are

ſo

ſo ready in the point of civility to yield to others in our own houſes, where only we have any title to govern.

Having thus ſhewn you, what ſort of ſubjection it is, which all men owe one another, and in what manner it ought to be paid, I ſhall now draw ſome obſervations from what hath been ſaid.

And firſt; A thorough practice of this duty of ſubjecting ourſelves to the wants and infirmities of each other, would utterly extinguiſh in us the vice of pride.

For, if God has pleaſed to entruſt me with a talent, not for my own ſake, but for the ſervice of others, and at the ſame time hath left me full of wants and neceſſities, which others muſt ſupply; I can then have no cauſe to ſet any extraordinary value upon myſelf, or to deſpiſe my brother, becauſe he hath not the ſame talents which were lent to me. His being may probably be as uſeful to the publick, as mine; and therefore, by the rules of right reaſon, I am in no ſort preferable to him.

Secondly; 'Tis very manifeſt from what has been ſaid, that no man ought to look upon the advantages of life, ſuch as riches, honour, power, and the like, as his property, but merely as a truſt, which God hath depoſited with him to be employed for the uſe of his brethren; and God will certainly puniſh the breach of that truſt, though the laws of man will not, or rather indeed cannot; becauſe the truſt was conferred only by God, who

has

has not left it to any power on earth to decide infallibly, whether a man makes a good uſe of his talents or not, or to puniſh him where he fails. And therefore God ſeems to have more particularly taken this matter into his own hands, and will moſt certainly reward, or puniſh us, in proportion to our good, or ill performance in it. Now, although the advantages, which one poſſeſſeth more than another, may in ſome ſenſe be called his property with reſpect to other men, yet with reſpect to God they are, as I ſaid, only a truſt; which will plainly appear from hence: if a man does not uſe thoſe advantages to the good of the publick, or the benefit of his neighbour, it is certain he doth not deſerve them, and conſequently that God never intended them for a bleſſing to him; and on the other ſide, whoever does employ his talents as he ought, will find, by his own experience, that they were chiefly lent him for the ſervice of others; for, to the ſervice of others he will certainly employ them.

Thirdly, If we could all be brought to practiſe this duty of ſubjecting ourſelves to each other, it would very much contribute to the general happineſs of mankind: for this would root out envy and malice from the heart of man; becauſe you cannot envy your neighbour's ſtrength, if he make uſe of it to defend your life, or carry your burden; you cannot envy his wiſdom, if he gives you good counſel; nor his riches, if he ſupplies you in your wants; nor his greatneſs, if he employs it to your protection. The miſeries of life are not properly owing

owing to the unequal diſtribution of things; but God Almighty, the great King of Heaven, is treated like the kings of the earth, who, although perhaps intending well themſelves, have often moſt abominable miniſters and ſtewards, and thoſe generally the vileſt, to whom they intruſt the moſt talents. But here is the difference, that the princes of this world ſee by other men's eyes, but God ſees all things; and therefore, whenever he permits his bleſſings to be dealt among thoſe who are unworthy, we may certainly conclude, that he intends them only as a puniſhment to an evil world, as well as to the owners. It were well, if thoſe would conſider this, whoſe riches ſerve them only as a ſpur to avarice, or as an inſtrument to their luſts; whoſe wiſdom is only of this world, to put falſe colours upon things, to call good evil, and evil good, againſt the conviction of their own conſciences; and laſtly, who employ their power and favour in acts of oppreſſion or injuſtice, in miſrepreſenting perſons and things, or in countenancing the wicked, to the ruin of the innocent.

Fourthly, The practice of this duty of being ſubject to one another, would make us reſt contented in the ſeveral ſtations of life, wherein God hath thought fit to place us; becauſe it would, in the beſt and eaſieſt manner, bring us back as it were to that early ſtate of the goſpel, when Chriſtians had all things in common. For, if the poor found the rich diſpoſed to ſupply their wants; if the ignorant found the wiſe ready to inſtruct and direct them; or if the weak might always find protection

protection from the mighty; they could none of them, with the leaſt pretence of juſtice, lament their own condition.

From all that hath been hitherto ſaid, it appears, that great abilities of any ſort, when they are employed as God directs, do but make the owners of them greater and more painful ſervants to their neighbour, and the publick: however, we are by no means to conclude from hence, that they are not really bleſſings, when they are in the hands of good men. For, firſt, what can be a greater honour than to be choſen one of the ſtewards and diſpenſers of God's bounty to mankind? what is there that can give a generous ſpirit more pleaſure and complacency of mind, than to conſider, that he is an inſtrument of doing much good? that great numbers owe to him, under God, their ſubſiſtence, their ſafety, their health, and the good conduct of their lives? The wickedeſt man upon earth takes a pleaſure in doing good to thoſe he loves; and therefore ſurely a good Chriſtian, who obeys our Saviour's commands of loving all men, cannot but take delight in doing good even to his enemies. God, who gives all things to all men, can receive nothing from any; and thoſe among men, who do the moſt good, and receive the feweſt returns, do moſt reſemble the Creator: for which reaſon St. Paul delivers it as a ſaying of our Saviour, that "it is more bleſſed to give "than receive." By this rule, what muſt become of thoſe things, which the world values as the greateſt bleſſings, riches, power, and the like, when

when our Saviour plainly determines, that the beſt way to make them bleſſings is to part with them? Therefore, although the advantages, which one man hath over another, may be called bleſſings, yet they are by no means ſo in the ſenſe the world uſually underſtands. Thus, for example, great riches are no bleſſings in themſelves; becauſe the poor man with the common neceſſaries of life enjoys more health, and has fewer cares without them: how then do they become bleſſings? No otherwiſe than by being employed in feeding the hungry, cloathing the naked, rewarding worthy men, and in ſhort, doing acts of charity and generoſity. Thus likewiſe, power is no bleſſing in itſelf, becauſe private men bear leſs envy, and trouble, and anguiſh without it. But when it is employed to protect the innocent, to relieve the oppreſſed, and to puniſh the oppreſſor, then it becomes a great bleſſing. And ſo, laſtly, even great wiſdom is, in the opinion of Solomon, not a bleſſing in itſelf: for "in much wiſdom is much ſorrow;" and men of common underſtanding, if they ſerve God, and mind their callings, make fewer miſtakes in the conduct of life, than thoſe who have better heads. And yet wiſdom is a mighty bleſſing, when it is applied to good purpoſes, to inſtruct the ignorant, to be a faithful counſellor either in publick or private, to be a director to youth, and to many other ends needleſs here to mention.

To conclude: God ſent us into the world to obey his commands, by doing as much good, as our

our abilities will reach, and as littleev il, as our i
infirmities will permit. Some he hath only tr
with one talent, ſome with five, and ſome witl
No man is without his talent; and he that is f
ful or negligent in a little, ſhall be rewarde
puniſhed, as well as he that hath been ſo in a
deal.

Conſider what hath been ſaid, &c.

A

SERMON

ON THE

TESTIMONY OF CONSCIENCE.

2 COR. i. 12. Part of it.

— *For our rejoicing is this, the teſtimony of our conſcience.*

THERE is no word more frequently in the mouths of men than that of conſcience, and the meaning of it is in ſome meaſure generally underſtood: however, becauſe it is likewiſe a word extremely abuſed by many people, who apply other meanings to it, which God Almighty never intended; I ſhall explain it to you in the cleareſt manner I am able. The word Conſcience properly ſignifies that knowledge which a man hath within himſelf of his own thoughts and actions. And becauſe if a man judgeth fairly of his own actions, by comparing them with the law of God, his mind will either approve or condemn him, according as he hath done good or evil; therefore this knowledge or conſcience may properly be called both an accuſer and a judge. So that whenever our conſcience accuſeth us, we are certainly guilty; but we are not always innocent, when it doth not

accuſe us: for very often, through the hardneſs of our hearts, or the fondneſs and favour we bear to ourſelves, or through ignorance or neglect, we do not ſuffer our conſcience to take any cogniſance of ſeveral ſins we commit. There is another office likewiſe belonging to conſcience, which is that of being our director and guide; and the wrong uſe of this hath been the occaſion of more evils under the ſun than almoſt all other cauſes put together. For, as conſcience is nothing elſe but the knowledge we have of what we are thinking and doing; ſo it can guide us no farther than that knowledge reacheth: and therefore God hath placed conſcience in us to be our director only in thoſe actions, which ſcripture and reaſon plainly tell us to be good or evil. But in caſes too difficult or doubtful for us to comprehend or determine, there conſcience is not concerned; becauſe it cannot adviſe in what it doth not underſtand, nor decide where it is itſelf in doubt: but, by God's great mercy, thoſe difficult points are never of abſolute neceſſity to our ſalvation. There is likewiſe another evil, that men often ſay, a thing is againſt their conſcience, when really it is not. For inſtance: aſk any of thoſe who differ from the worſhip eſtabliſhed, why they do not come to church? they will ſay, they diſlike the ceremonies, the prayers, the habits, and the like; and therefore it goes againſt their conſcience: but they are miſtaken, their teacher hath put thoſe words into their mouth; for a man's conſcience can go no higher than his knowledge; and therefore till he

he has thoroughly examined by ſcripture, and the practice of the ancient church, whether thoſe points are blameable or not, his conſcience cannot poſſibly direct him to condemn them. Hence have likewiſe ariſen thoſe miſtakes about what is uſually called liberty of conſcience; which, properly ſpeaking, is no more than a liberty of knowing our own thoughts; which liberty no one can take from us. But thoſe words have obtained quite different meanings: liberty of conſcience is now-a-days not only underſtood to be the liberty of believing what men pleaſe, but alſo of endeavouring to propagate that belief as much as they can, and to overthrow the faith which the laws have already eſtabliſhed, and to be rewarded by the publick for thoſe wicked endeavours: and this is the liberty of conſcience which the fanaticks are now openly in the face of the world endeavouring at with their utmoſt application. At the ſame time it cannot but be obſerved, that thoſe very perſons, who, under pretence of a publick ſpirit and tenderneſs towards their Chriſtian brethren, are ſo zealous for ſuch a liberty of conſcience as this, are of all others the leaſt tender to thoſe who differ from them in the ſmalleſt point relating to government; and I wiſh I could not ſay, that the Majeſty of the living God, may be offended with more ſecurity, than the memory of a dead prince. But the wiſdom of the world at preſent ſeems to agree with that of the heathen emperor, who ſaid, If the gods were offended, it was their own concern, and they were able to vindicate themſelves.

But, although conſcience hath been abuſed to thoſe wicked purpoſes which I have already related, yet a due regard to the directions it plainly gives us, as well as to its accuſations, reproaches, and advices, would be of the greateſt uſe to mankind, both for their preſent welfare, and future happineſs.

Therefore, my diſcourſe at this time ſhall be directed to prove to you; that there is no ſolid, firm foundation for virtue, but on a conſcience which is guided by religion.

In order to this, I ſhall firſt ſhew you the weakneſs and uncertainty of two falſe principles, which many people ſet up in the place of conſcience, for a guide to their actions.

The firſt of theſe principles is, what the world uſually calls moral honeſty. There are ſome people, who appear very indifferent as to religion, and yet have the repute of being juſt and fair in their dealings; and theſe are generally known by the character of good moral men. But now, if you look into the grounds and the motives of ſuch a man's actions, you ſhall find them to be no other than his own eaſe and intereſt. For example: you truſt a moral man with your money in the way of trade, you truſt another with the defence of your cauſe at law, and perhaps they both deal juſtly with you. Why? not from any regard they have for juſtice, but becauſe their fortune depends upon their credit, and a ſtain of open publick diſhoneſty muſt be to their diſadvantage. But let it conſiſt with ſuch a man's intereſt and ſafety

ſafety to wrong you, and then it will be impoſſible you can have any hold upon him; becauſe there is nothing left to give him a check, or put in the balance againſt his profit. For if he hath nothing to govern himſelf by but the opinion of the world, as long as he can conceal his injuſtice from the world, he thinks he is ſafe.

Beſides, it is found by experience, that thoſe men who ſet up for morality without regard to religion, are generally virtuous but in part; they will be juſt in their dealings between man and man; but if they find themſelves diſpoſed to pride, luſt, intemperance, or avarice, they do not think their morality concerned to check them in any of theſe vices; becauſe it is the great rule of ſuch men, that they may lawfully follow the dictates of nature, wherever their ſafety, health, and fortune are not injured. So that upon the whole there is hardly one vice, which a mere moral man may not, upon ſome occaſions, allow himſelf to practiſe.

The other falſe principle, which ſome men ſet up in the place of conſcience to be their director in life, is what thoſe who pretend to it call honour.

This word is often made the ſanction of an oath; it is reckoned to be a great commendation to be a ſtrict man of honour; and it is commonly underſtood, that a man of honour can never be guilty of a baſe action. This is uſually the ſtile of military men, of perſons with titles, and of others who pretend to birth and quality. 'Tis true in-

deed, that in ancient times it was univerſally underſtood, that honour was the reward of virtue; but, if ſuch honour as is now-a-days going will not permit a man to do a baſe action, it muſt be allowed, there are very few ſuch things as baſe actions in nature. No man of honour, as that word is uſually underſtood, did ever pretend that his honour obliged him to be chaſte or temperate, to pay his creditors, to be uſeful to his country, to do good to mankind, to endeavour to be wiſe or learned, to regard his word, his promiſe, or his oath: or if he hath any of theſe virtues, they were never learned in the catechiſm of honour; which contains but two precepts, the punctual payment of debts contracted at play, and the right underſtanding the ſeveral degrees of an affront, in order to revenge it by the death of an adverſary.

But ſuppoſe this principle of honour, which ſome men ſo much boaſt of, did really produce more virtues than it ever pretended to; yet, ſince the very being of that honour depended upon the breath, the opinion, or the fancy of the people, the virtues derived from it could be of no long or certain duration. For example: ſuppoſe a man, from a principle of honour, ſhould reſolve to be juſt, or chaſte, or temperate, and yet the cenſuring world ſhould take a humour of refuſing him thoſe characters, he would then think the obligation at an end. Or, on the other ſide, if he thought he could gain honour by the falſeſt and vileſt action (which is a caſe that very often happens) he would then make no ſcruple to perform it. And God knows,

knows, it would be an unhappy ſtate, to have the religion, the liberty, or the property of a people lodged in ſuch hands; which however hath been too often the caſe.

What I have ſaid upon this principle of honour may perhaps be thought of ſmall concernment to moſt of you, who are my hearers: however, a caution was not altogether unneceſſary; ſince there is nothing by which not only the vulgar, but the honeſt tradeſman, hath been ſo much deceived, as this infamous pretence to honour in too many of their betters.

Having thus ſhewn you the weakneſs and uncertainty of thoſe principles, which ſome men ſet up in the place of conſcience to direct them in their actions; I ſhall now endeavour to prove to you, that there is no ſolid, firm foundation of virtue, but in a conſcience directed by the principles of religion.

There is no way of judging how far we may depend upon the actions of men, otherwiſe than by knowing the motives, and grounds, and cauſes of them; and if the motives of our actions be not reſolved and determined into the law of God, they will be precarious and uncertain, and liable to perpetual changes. I will ſhew you what I mean by an example: ſuppoſe a man thinks it his duty to obey his parents, becauſe reaſon tells him ſo, becauſe he is obliged by gratitude, and becauſe the laws of his country command him to do ſo: if he ſtops here, his parents can have no laſting ſecurity; for an occaſion may happen, wherein it may be

extremely his intereſt to be diſobedient, and where the laws of the land can lay no hold upon him: therefore, before ſuch a man can ſafely be truſted, he muſt proceed farther, and conſider, that his reaſon is the gift of God; that God commanded him to be obedient to the laws, and did moreover in a particular manner enjoin him to be dutiful to his parents; after which, if he lays due weight upon thoſe conſiderations, he will probably continue in his duty to the end of his life: becauſe no earthly intereſt can ever come in competition to balance the danger of offending his Creator, or the happineſs of pleaſing him. And of all this his conſcience will certainly inform him, if he hath any regard to religion.

Secondly; Fear and hope are the two greateſt natural motives of all men's actions: but neither of theſe paſſions will ever put us in the way of virtue, unleſs they be directed by conſcience. For, although virtuous men do ſometimes accidentally make their way to preferment, yet the world is ſo corrupted, that no man can reaſonably hope to be rewarded in it merely upon account of his virtue. And conſequently the fear of puniſhment in this life, will preſerve men from very few vices, ſince ſome of the blackeſt and baſeſt do often prove the ſureſt ſteps to favour; ſuch as ingratitude, hypocriſy, treachery, malice, ſubornation, atheiſm, and many more, which human laws do little concern themſelves about. But, when conſcience placeth before us the hopes of everlaſting happi-

neſs,

neſs, and the fears of everlaſting miſery, as the reward and puniſhment of our good or evil actions; our reaſon can find no way to avoid the force of ſuch an argument, otherwiſe than by running into infidelity.

Laſtly, Conſcience will direct us to love God, and to put our whole truſt and confidence in him. Our love of God will inſpire us with a deteſtation for ſin, as what is of all things moſt contrary to his divine nature; and if we have an entire confidence in him, that will enable us to ſubdue and deſpiſe all the allurements of the world.

It may here be objected, if conſcience be ſo ſure a director to us Chriſtians in the conduct of our lives, how comes it to paſs that the ancient heathens, who had no other lights but thoſe of nature and reaſon, ſhould ſo far exceed us in all manner of virtue, as plainly appears by many examples they have left on record?

To which it may be anſwered; firſt, thoſe heathens were extremely ſtrict and exact in the education of their children; whereas among us this care is ſo much laid aſide, that the more God has bleſſed any man with eſtate or quality, juſt ſo much the leſs in proportion is the care he takes in the education of his children, and particularly of that child which is to inherit his fortune; of which the effects are viſible enough among the great ones of the world. Again, thoſe heathens did in a particular manner inſtil the principle into their children of loving their country; which is ſo far otherwiſe

now-

now-a-days, that of the ſeveral parties among us there is none of them that ſeem to have ſo much as heard whether there be ſuch a virtue in the world, as plainly appears by their practices, and eſpecially when they are placed in thoſe ſtations where they can * only have opportunity of ſhewing it. Laſtly; the moſt conſiderable among the heathens did generally believe rewards and puniſhments in a life to come; which is the great principle for conſcience to work upon: whereas too many of thoſe, who would be thought the moſt conſiderable among us, do, both by their practices and their diſcourſes, plainly affirm, that they believe nothing at all of the matter.

Wherefore, ſince it hath manifeſtly appeared that a religious conſcience is the only true ſolid foundation upon which virtue can be built, give me leave, before I conclude, to let you ſee how neceſſary ſuch a conſcience is, to conduct us in every ſtation and condition of our lives.

That a religious conſcience is neceſſary in any ſtation, is confeſſed even by thoſe who tell us that all religion was invented by cunning men, in order to keep the world in awe. For, if religion, by the confeſſion of its adverſaries, be neceſſary toward the well-governing of mankind; then every wiſe man in power will be ſure, not only to chooſe out for every ſtation under him ſuch perſons as are

* Where they can *only* have, &c. Here the world *only* is not in its proper place: it ſhould be—'*where only* they can have opportunity of ſhewing it.

moſt

moſt likely to be kept in awe by religion, but likewiſe to carry ſome appearance of it himſelf, or elſe he is a very weak politician. And accordingly in any country, where great perſons affect to be open deſpiſers of religion, their counſels will be found at laſt, to be fully as deſtructive to the ſtate, as to the church.

It was the advice of Jethro to his ſon-in-law Moſes, to "provide able men, ſuch as fear God, "men of truth, hating covetouſneſs," and to place ſuch over the people; and Moſes, who was as wiſe a ſtateſman at leaſt as any in this age, thought fit to follow that advice. Great abilities, without the fear of God, are moſt dangerous inſtruments, when they are truſted with power. The laws of man have thought fit, that thoſe who are called to any office of truſt, ſhould be bound by an oath to the faithful diſcharge of it: but an oath is an appeal to God, and therefore can have no influence except upon thoſe who believe that he is, and that he is a rewarder of thoſe that ſeek him, and a puniſher of thoſe who diſobey him: and therefore, we ſee, the laws themſelves are forced to have recourſe to conſcience in theſe caſes, becauſe their penalties cannot reach the arts of cunning men, who can find ways to be guilty of a thouſand injuſtices without being diſcovered, or at leaſt without being puniſhed. And the reaſon why we find ſo many frauds, abuſes, and corruptions where any truſt is conferred, can be no other, than that there is ſo little conſcience and religion left in the world; or at leaſt that men, in their choice of inſtruments,

have

have private ends in view, which are very diffe
from the ſervice of the publick. Beſides, it is
tain, that men who profeſs to have no relig
are full as zealous to bring over proſelytes, as
papiſt or fanatick can be. And therefore, if t
who are in ſtation high enough to be of influe
or example to others; if thoſe (I ſay) openly
feſs a contempt or diſbelief of religion, they
be ſure to make all their dependents of their
principles; and what ſecurity can the publick
pect from ſuch perſons, whenever their inter
or their luſts, come into competition with t
duty? It is very poſſible for a man, who hath
appearance of religion, and is a great pretende
conſcience, to be wicked and a hypocrite; but
impoſſible for a man, who openly declares aga
religion, to give any reaſonable ſecurity that
will not be falſe, and cruel, and corrupt, when
a temptation offers, which he values more than
does the power wherewith he was truſted. A
if ſuch a man doth not betray his cauſe and
maſter, it is only becauſe the temptation was
properly offered, or the profit was too ſmall,
the danger too great. And hence it is, that
find ſo little truth or juſtice among us; bec
there are ſo very few, who, either in the ſervic
the publick, or in common dealings with
other, do ever look farther than their own adv
tage, and how to guard themſelves againſt
laws of the country; which a man may do
favour, by ſecrecy, or by cunning, though
breaks almoſt every law of God.

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Therefore, to conclude: It plainly appears, that unleſs men are guided by the advice and judgment of conſcience founded on religion, they can give no ſecurity that they will be either good ſubjects, faithful ſervants of the publick, or honeſt in their mutual dealings; ſince there is no other tie, through which the pride, or luſt, or avarice, or ambition of mankind, will not certainly break one time or other.

Conſider what has been ſaid, &c.

A

SERMON

ON

BROTHERLY LOVE.

HEB. xiii. 1.

Let brotherly love continue.

IN the early times of the goſpel, the Chriſtians were very much diſtinguiſhed from all other bodies of men, by the great and conſtant love they bore to each other; which, although it was done in obedience to the frequent injunctions of our Saviour and his apoſtles, yet, I confeſs, there ſeemeth to have been likewiſe a natural reaſon, that very much promoted it. For the Chriſtians then were few and ſcattered, living under perſecution by the heathens round about them, in whoſe hands was all the civil and military power; and there is nothing ſo apt to unite the minds and hearts of men, or to beget love and tenderneſs, as a general diſtreſs. The firſt diſſenſions between Chriſtians took their beginning from the errors and hereſies that aroſe among them; many of thoſe hereſies, ſometimes extinguiſhed, and ſometimes reviving, or ſucceeded by others, remain to this day; and having been made inſtruments to the pride, avarice, or ambition of ill-deſigning men, by extinguiſhing *brotherly* love, have been the cauſe of infinite ca-

lamities, as well as corruptions of faith and manners, in the Chriſtian world.

The laſt legacy of Chriſt was peace and mutual love; but then he foretold, that he came to ſend a ſword upon the earth: the primitive Chriſtians accepted the legacy, and their ſucceſſors down to the preſent age have been largely fulfilling his prophecy. But whatever the practice of mankind hath been, or ſtill continues, there is no duty more incumbent upon thoſe who profeſs the goſpel, than that of brotherly love; which, whoever could reſtore in any degree among men, would be an inſtrument of more good to human ſociety, than ever was, or will be done by all the ſtateſmen and politicians in the world.

It is upon this ſubject of brotherly love, that I intend to diſcourſe at preſent, and the method I obſerve ſhall be as follows:

I. Firſt, I will enquire into the cauſes of this great want of brotherly love among us.

II. Secondly, I will lay open the ſad effects and conſequences, which our animoſities and mutual hatred have produced.

III. Laſtly, I will uſe ſome motives and exhortations, that may perſuade you to embrace brotherly love, and continue in it.

I. Firſt, I ſhall enquire into the cauſes of this great want of brotherly love among us.

This

This nation of ours hath, for a hundred years paſt, been infeſted by two enemies, the papiſts and fanaticks; who, each in their turns, filled it with blood and ſlaughter, and, for a time, deſtroyed both the church and government. The memory of theſe events hath put all true proteſtants, equally upon their guard againſt both theſe adverſaries, who, by conſequence, do equally hate us. The fanaticks revile us, as too nearly approaching to popery; and the papiſts condemn us as bordering too much on fanaticiſm. The papiſts, God be praiſed, are, by the wiſdom of our laws, put out of all viſible poſſibility of hurting us; beſides, their religion is ſo generally abhorred, that they have no advocates or abettors among proteſtants to aſſiſt them. But the fanaticks are to be conſidered in another light; they have had, of late years, the power, the luck, or the cunning, to divide us among ourſelves; they have endeavoured to repreſent all thoſe who have been ſo bold as to oppoſe their errors and deſigns, under the character of perſons diſaffected to the government; and they have ſo far ſucceeded, that now-a-days, if a clergyman happens to preach with any zeal and vehemence againſt the ſin and danger of ſchiſm, there will not want too many, in his congregation, ready enough to cenſure him as hot and high-flying, an inflamer of men's minds, an enemy to moderation, and diſloyal to his prince. This hath produced a formed and ſettled diviſion between thoſe who profeſs the ſame doctrine and diſcipline; while they who call themſelves moderate,

are forced to widen their bottom, by ſacrificing their principles and their brethren, to the incroachments and inſolence of diſſenters; who are therefore anſwerable, as a principal cauſe of all that hatred and animoſity now reigning among us.

Another cauſe of the great want of brotherly love is, the weakneſs and folly of too many among you of the lower ſort, who are made the tools and inſtruments of your betters to work their deſigns, wherein you have no concern. Your numbers make you of uſe, and cunning men take the advantage, by putting words into your mouths which you do not underſtand; then they fix good or ill characters to thoſe words, as it beſt ſerves their purpoſes: and thus you are taught to love or hate, you know not what or why; you often ſuſpect your beſt friends, and neareſt neighbours, even your teacher himſelf, without any reaſon, if your leaders once taught you to call him by a name which they tell you ſignifieth ſome very bad thing.

A third cauſe of our great want of brotherly love, ſeemeth to be, that this duty is not ſo often inſiſted on from the pulpit, as it ought to be in ſuch times as theſe; on the contrary, it is to be doubted, whether doctrines are not ſometimes delivered by an ungoverned zeal, a deſire to be diſtinguiſhed, or a view of intereſt, which produce quite different effects; when, upon occaſions ſet apart to return thanks to God for ſome public bleſſing, the time is employed in ſtirring up one part of the congregation againſt the other, by repre-

ſentations of things and perſons, which God, his mercy, forgive thoſe who are guilty of.

The laſt cauſe I ſhall mention of the want brotherly love is, that unhappy diſpoſition towa politicks among the trading people, which h been induſtriouſly inſtilled into them. In forn times, the middle and lower ſort of manki ſeldom gained or loſt by the factions of the kir dom, and therefore were little concerned in the farther than as matter of talk and amuſement; l now, the meaneſt dealer will expect to turn penny, by the merits of his party. He can rep ſent his neighbour as a man of dangerous pri ciples, can bring a railing accuſation againſt hi perhaps a criminal one; and ſo rob him of livelihood, and find his own account by that, mu more than if he had diſparaged his neighbou goods, or defamed him as a cheat. For ſo it ha pens, that inſtead of enquiring into the ſkill or h neſty of thoſe kind of people, the manner is n to enquire into their party, and to reject or ence rage them accordingly; which proceeding h made our people, in general, ſuch able politicia that all the artifice, flattery, diſſimulation, diligen and dexterity in undermining each other, which t ſatirical wit of men hath charged upon courts; t gether with all the rage and violence, cruelty a injuſtice, which have been ever imputed to pub aſſemblies; are with us (ſo polite are we grow to be ſeen among our meaneſt traders and artifice in the greateſt perfection. All which, as it m be matter of ſome humiliation to the wiſe a

mighty of this world, ſo the effects thereof may perhaps, in time, prove very different from what, I hope in charity, were ever foreſeen or intended.

II. I will therefore now, in the ſecond place, lay open ſome of the ſad effects and conſequences, which our animoſities and mutual hatred have produced.

And the firſt ill conſequence is, that our want of brotherly love hath almoſt driven out all ſenſe of religion from among us, which cannot well be otherwiſe: for, ſince our Saviour laid ſo much weight upon his diſciples loving one another, that he gave it among his laſt inſtructions; and ſince the primitive Chriſtians are allowed to have chiefly propagated the faith by their ſtrict obſervance of that inſtruction; it muſt follow, that in proportion as brotherly love declineth, Chriſtianity will do ſo too. The little religion there is in the world, hath been obſerved to reſide chiefly among the middle and lower ſort of people, who are neither tempted to pride and luxury by great riches, nor to deſperate courſes by extreme poverty: and truly I, upon that account, have thought it a happineſs, that thoſe who are under my immediate care, are generally of that condition; but where party hath once made entrance, with all its conſequences of hatred, envy, partiality and virulence, religion cannot long keep its hold in any ſtate or degree of life whatſoever. For, if the great men of the world have been cenſured in all ages for mingling too little religion with their politicks, what a havock

of principles muſt they needs make in unlearned and irregular heads; of which indeed the effects are already too viſible and melancholy all over the kingdom!

Another ill conſequence from our want of brotherly love is, that it increaſeth the inſolence of the fanaticks; and this partly ariſeth from a miſtaken meaning of the word moderation; a word which hath been much abuſed, and bandied about for ſeveral years paſt. There are too many people indifferent enough to all religion; there are many others, who diſlike the clergy, and would have them live in poverty and dependence; both theſe ſorts are much commended by the fanaticks for moderate men, ready to put an end to our diviſions, and to make a general union among proteſtants. Many ignorant well-meaning people are deceived by theſe appearances, ſtrengthened with great pretences to loyalty: and theſe occaſions the fanaticks lay hold on, to revile the doctrine and diſcipline of the church, and even inſult and oppreſs the clergy, wherever their number or favourers will bear them out; inſomuch that one wilful refractory fanatick, hath been able to diſturb a whole pariſh for many years together. But the moſt moderate and favoured divines dare not own, that the word moderation, with reſpect to the diſſenters, can be at all applied to their religion, but is purely perſonal or prudential. No good man repineth at the liberty of conſcience they enjoy; and, perhaps, a very moderate divine may think better of their loyalty than others do; or, to ſpeak after the manner

ner of men, may think it neceſſary, that all proteſtants ſhould be united againſt the common enemy; or out of diſcretion, or other reaſons beſt known to himſelf, be tender of mentioning them at all. But ſtill the errors of the diſſenters are all fixed and determined, and muſt, upon demand, be acknowledged by all the divines of our church, whether they be called, in party phraſe, high or low, moderate or violent. And farther, I believe it would be hard to find many moderate divines, who, if their opinion were aſked whether diſſenters ſhould be truſted with power, could, according to their conſciences, anſwer in the affirmative; from whence it is plain, that all the ſtir which the fanaticks have made with this word moderation, was only meant to increaſe our diviſions, and widen them ſo far as to make room for themſelves to get in between. And this is the only ſcheme they ever had (except that of deſtroying root and branch) for the uniting of proteſtants, they ſo much talk of.

I ſhall mention but one ill conſequence more, which attends our want of brotherly love; that it hath put an end to all hoſpitality and friendſhip, all good correſpondence and commerce between mankind. There are indeed ſuch things as leagues and confederacies among thoſe of the ſame party; but ſurely God never intended that men ſhould be ſo limited in the choice of their friends: however, ſo it is in town and country, in every pariſh and ſtreet; the paſtor is divided from his flock, the father from his ſon, and the houſe often divided

againſt itſelf. Men's very natures are ſoured, their paſſions inflamed, when they meet in p clubs, and ſpend their time in nothing elſe railing at the oppoſite ſide; thus every man a among us is encompaſſed with a million of enen of his own country, among which his oldeſt quaintance and friends, and kindred themſel are often of the number: neither can people different parties mix together without conſtra ſuſpicion, and jealouſy, watching every word t ſpeak for fear of giving offence; or elſe falling i rudeneſs and reproaches, and ſo leaving themſe open to the malice and corruption of inform who were never more numerous or expert in tl trade. And as a farther addition to this evil, tl very few, who, by the goodneſs and generoſity their nature, do in their own hearts deſpiſe narrow principle of confining their friendſhip eſteem, their charity and good offices, to thoſ their own party, yet dare not diſcover their g inclinations, for fear of loſing their favour and tereſt. And others again, whom God had forn with mild and gentle diſpoſitions, think it nec ſary to put a force upon their own tempers, acting a noiſy, violent, malicious part, as a me to be diſtinguiſhed. Thus hath party got the be of the very genius and conſtitution of our peop ſo that whoever reads the character of the Eng in former ages, will hardly believe their pre poſterity to be of the ſame nation or climate.

III. I ſ

III. I ſhall now, in the laſt place, make uſe of ſome motives and exhortations, that may perſuade you to embrace brotherly love, and to continue in it. Let me apply myſelf to you of the lower ſort, and deſire you will conſider, when any of you make uſe of fair and enticing words to draw in cuſtomers, whether you do it for their ſakes or your own. And then, for whoſe ſakes do you think it is, that your leaders are ſo induſtrious to put into your heads all that party rage and virulence? is it not to make you the tools and inſtruments, by which they work out their own deſigns? has this ſpirit of faction been uſeful to any of you in your wordly concerns, except to thoſe who have traded in whiſpering, backbiting, or informing, wanting ſkill or honeſty to thrive by fairer methods? It is no buſineſs of yours to enquire, who is at the head of armies, or of councils, unleſs you had power and ſkill to chooſe, neither of which is ever likely to be your caſe; and therefore to fill your heads with fears, and hatred of perſons and things, of which it is impoſſible you can ever make a right judgment, or to ſet you at variance with your neighbour, becauſe his thoughts are not the ſame as yours, is not only in a very groſs manner to cheat you of your time and quiet, but likewiſe to endanger your ſouls.

Secondly, In order to reſtore brotherly love, let me earneſtly exhort you to ſtand firm in your religion; I mean the true religion hitherto eſtabliſhed among us, without varying in the leaſt either to popery on the one ſide, or to fanaticiſm on the

other; and in a particular manner beware of that word, moderation; and believe it, that your neighbour is not immediately a villain, a papiſt, and a traitor, becauſe the fanaticks and their adherents will not allow him to be a moderate man. Nay, it is very probable, that your teacher himſelf may be a loyal, pious, and able divine, without the leaſt grain of moderation, as the word is too frequently underſtood. Therefore, to ſet you right in this matter, I will lay before you the character of a truly moderate man; and then I will give you the deſcription of ſuch a one, as falſely pretendeth to that title.

A man truly moderate, is ſteady in the doctrine and diſcipline of the church, but with a due Chriſtian charity to all who diſſent from it out of a principle of conſcience; the freedom of which, he thinketh, ought to be fully allowed, as long as it is not abuſed, but never truſted with power. He is ready to defend with his life and fortune the proteſtant ſucceſſion, and the proteſtant eſtabliſhed faith, againſt all invaders whatſoever. He is for giving the crown its juſt prerogative, and the people their juſt liberties. He hateth no man for differing from him in political opinions; nor doth he think it a maxim infallible, that virtue ſhould always attend upon favour, and vice upon diſgrace. Theſe are ſome few lineaments in the character of a truly moderate man: let us now compare it with the deſcription of one who uſually paſſeth under that title.

A mo-

A moderate man, in the new meaning of the word, is one, to whom all religion is indifferent; who, although he denominates himſelf of the church, regardeth it no more than a conventicle. He perpetually raileth at the body of the clergy, with exceptions only to a very few, who, he hopeth, and probably upon falſe grounds, are as ready to betray their rights and properties as himſelf. He thinketh the power of the people can never be too great, nor that of the prince too little; and yet this very notion he publiſheth as his beſt argument to prove him a moſt loyal ſubject. Every opinion in government, that differeth in the leaſt from his, tendeth directly to popery, ſlavery, and rebellion. Whoever lieth under the frown of power can, in his judgment, neither have common ſenſe, common honeſty, nor religion. Laſtly, his devotion conſiſteth in drinking gibbets, confuſion, and damnation; in profanely idolizing the memory of one dead prince, and ungratefully trampling upon the aſhes of another.

By theſe marks you will eaſily diſtinguiſh a truly moderate man from thoſe, who are commonly, but very falſely, ſo called; and while perſons thus qualified are ſo numerous and ſo noiſy, ſo full of zeal and induſtry to gain proſelytes, and ſpread their opinions among the people, it cannot be wondered at that there ſhould be ſo little brotherly love left among us.

Laſtly,

Laſtly, it would probably contribute to reſtore ſome degree of brotherly love, if we would but conſider, that the matter of thoſe diſputes, which inflame us to this degree, doth not, in its own nature, at all concern the generality of mankind. Indeed as to thoſe, who have been great gainers or loſers by the changes of the world, the caſe is different; and to preach moderation to the firſt, and patience to the laſt, would perhaps be to little purpoſe: but what is that to the bulk of the people, who are not properly concerned in the quarrel, although evil inſtruments have drawn them into it? for, if the reaſonable men on both ſides were to confer opinions, they would find neither religion, loyalty, nor intereſt, are at all affected in this diſpute. Not religion, becauſe the members of the church, on both ſides, profeſs to agree in every article: not loyalty to our prince, which is pretended to by one party as much as the other, and therefore can be no ſubject for debate: nor intereſt, for trade and induſtry lie open to all; and, what is farther, concerns only thoſe who have expectations from the publick: ſo that the body of the people, if they knew their own good, might yet live amicably together, and leave their betters to quarrel among themſelves; who might alſo probably ſoon come to a better temper, if they were leſs ſeconded and ſupported by the poor deluded multitude.

I have now done with my text, which I confeſs to have treated in a manner more ſuited to the preſent times,

times, than to the nature of the ſubject in general. That I have not been more particular in explaining the ſeveral parts and properties of this great duty of brotherly love, the apoſtle to the Theſſalonians will plead my excuſe. "Touching brotherly love "(ſaith he) ye need not that I write unto you, "for ye yourſelves are taught of God to love one "another." So that nothing remains to add, but our prayers to God, that he would pleaſe to reſtore and continue his duty of brotherly love or charity among us, the very bond of peace and of all virtues.

Nov. 29, 1717.

A

SERMON

UPON THE

MARTYRDOM of KING CHARLES I.

Preached at St. PATRICK's, DUBLIN, Jan. 30, 1725-6, being Sunday.

GENESIS xlix. 5, 6, 7.

SIMEON *and* LEVI *are brethren; inſtruments of cruelty are in their habitations.*

O my ſoul, come not thou into their ſecret, unto their aſſembly mine honour be not thou united; for in their anger they ſlew a man, and in their ſelf-will they digged down a wall.

Curſed be their anger, for it was fierce; and their wrath, for it was cruel. I will divide them in JACOB, *and ſcatter them in* ISRAEL.

I KNOW very well, that the church hath been often cenſured for keeping holy this day of humiliation, in memory of that excellent King and bleſſed Martyr CHARLES I. who rather choſe to die on a ſcaffold, than betray the religion and liberties of his people, wherewith God and the laws had entruſted him. But, at the ſame time, it is manifeſt

manifeſt that thoſe who make ſuch cenſures, are either people without any religion at all, or who derive their principles, and perhaps their birth, from the abettors of thoſe who contrived the murder of that prince, and have not yet ſhewn the world that their opinions are changed. It is alleged, that the obſervation of this day hath ſerved to continue and encreaſe the animoſity and enmity among our countrymen, and to diſunite Proteſtants; that a law was made, upon the reſtoration of the martyr's ſon, for a general pardon and oblivion, forbidding all reproaches upon that occaſion; and ſince none are now alive who were actors or inſtruments in that tragedy, it is thought hard and uncharitable to keep up the memory of it for all generations.

Now, becauſe I conceive moſt of you to be ignorant in many particulars concerning that horrid murder, and the rebellion which preceded it; I will,

Firſt, relate to you ſo much of the ſtory as may be ſufficient for your information:

Secondly, I will tell you the conſequences which this bloody deed had upon theſe kingdoms:

And, laſtly, I will ſhew you to what good uſes this ſolemn day of humiliation may be applied.

As to the firſt; in the reign of this prince, Charles the martyr, the power and prerogative of the king were much greater than they are in our times, and ſo had been for at leaſt ſeven hundred years before; and the beſt princes we ever had, carried their power much farther than the bleſſed martyr

martyr offered to do, in the moſt blameable part of his reign. But, the lands of the crown having been prodigally beſtowed to favourites in the preceding reigns, the ſucceeding kings could not ſupport themſelves without taxes raiſed by parliament; which put them under a neceſſity of frequently calling thoſe aſſemblies; and the crown lands being gotten into the hands of the nobility and gentry, beſide the poſſeſſions of which the church had been robbed by king Henry the Eighth, power, which always follows property, grew to lean to the ſide of the people, by whom even the juſt rights of the crown were often diſputed.

But farther: upon the cruel perſecution raiſed againſt the Proteſtants, under queen Mary, among great numbers who fled the kingdom to ſeek for ſhelter, ſeveral went and reſided at Geneva, which is a commonwealth governed without a king, and where the religion contrived by Calvin, is without the order of biſhops. When the Proteſtant faith was reſtored by queen Elizabeth, thoſe who fled to Geneva returned among the reſt home to England, and were grown ſo fond of the government and religion of the place they had left, that they uſed all poſſible endeavours to introduce both into their own country; at the ſame time continually preaching and railing againſt ceremonies and diſtinct habits of the clergy; taxing whatever they diſliked as a remnant of Popery; and continued extremely troubleſome to the church and ſtate, under that great queen, as well as her ſucceſſor king James I. Theſe people called themſelves Puritans, as pretending

ending to a purer faith than thoſe of the church ſtabliſhed. And theſe were the founders of our Diſſenters. They did not think it ſufficient to leave ll the errors of Popery; but threw off many lau-able and edifying inſtitutions of the primitive hurch, and at laſt, even the government of iſhops; which, having been ordained by the poſtles themſelves, had continued without inter-uption, in all Chriſtian churches, for above fifteen undred years. And all this they did, not becauſe noſe things were evil, but becauſe they were kept y the Papiſts. From thence they proceeded, by egrees, to quarrel with the kingly government; ecauſe, as I have already ſaid, the city of Geneva, o which their fathers had flown for refuge, was commonwealth, or government of the people.

Theſe Puritans, about the middle of the martyr's eign, were grown to be a conſiderable faction in ne kingdom, and in the lower houſe of parlia-ent. They filled the public with the moſt falſe nd bitter libels againſt the biſhops and clergy, ac-uſing chiefly the very beſt among them of Po-ery; and at the ſame time, the houſe of com-ons grew ſo inſolent and uneaſy to the king, that ey refuſed to furniſh him with neceſſary ſupplies or the ſupport of his family, unleſs upon ſuch onditions as he could not ſubmit to without for-iting his conſcience and honour, and even his oronation oath. And in ſuch an extremity, he as forced upon a practice, no way juſtifiable, of iſing money; for which, however, he had the pinion of the judges on his ſide: for wicked

judges

judges there were in thoſe times as well as in ou
There were likewiſe many complaints, and ſom
times juſtly made againſt the proceedings of a c
tain court, called the Star-chamber, a judicatur
great antiquity; but it had ſuffered ſome corru
tions, for which, however, the king was no w
anſwerable. I cannot recollect any more ſubj
of complaint with the leaſt ground of reaſon;
is it needful to recollect them, becauſe this graci
king did, upon the firſt application, redreſs
grievances by an act of parliament, and put it
of his power to do any hardſhips for the futu
But that wicked faction in the houſe of comm
not content with all thoſe marks of his juſtice
condeſcenſion, urged ſtill for more; and, join
with a factious party from Scotland, who had
ſame fancies in religion, forced him to paſs an
for cutting off the head of his beſt and chief
niſter; and at the ſame time, compelled him,
tumults and threatenings of a packt rabble,
ſoned with the ſame doctrines, to paſs another
by which it ſhould not be in his power to diſſ
that parliament, without their own conſent. Th
by the greateſt weakneſs and infatuation that
poſſeſſed any man's ſpirit, this prince did in e
ſign his own deſtruction. For the houſe of c
mons, having the reins in their own hands, d
on furiouſly; ſent him every day ſome unrea
able demand; and when he refuſed to gran
made uſe of their own power, and declared
an ordinance of both houſes, without the ki
conſent, ſhould be obeyed as a law, contrar

all reaſon and equity, as well as to the fundamental conſtitution of the kingdom.

About this time the rebellion in Ireland broke out, wherein his parliament refuſed to aſſiſt him; nor would accept his offer to come hither in perſon to ſubdue thoſe rebels. Theſe, and a thouſand other barbarities, forced the king to ſummon his loyal ſubjects to his ſtandard in his own defence. Meanwhile the Engliſh parliament, inſtead of helping the poor Proteſtants here, ſeized on the very army that his majeſty was ſending over for our relief, and turned them againſt their own ſovereign. The rebellion in England continued for four or five years: at laſt the king was forced to fly in diſguiſe to the Scots, who ſold him to the rebels. And theſe Puritans had the impudent cruelty to try his ſacred perſon in a mock court of juſtice, and cut off his head; which he might have ſaved, if he would have yielded to betray the conſtitution in church and ſtate.

In this whole proceeding, Simeon and Levi were brethren; the wicked inſinuations of thoſe fanatical preachers ſtirring up the cruelty of the ſoldiers, who, by force of arms, excluded from the houſe every member of parliament, whom they apprehended to bear the leaſt inclination towards an agreement with the king, ſuffering only thoſe to enter who thirſted chiefly for his blood; and this is the very account given by their own writers. Whence it is clear that this prince was, in all reſpects, a real martyr for the true religion and the liberty of the people. That odious parliament

had firſt turned the biſhops out of the houſe of lords; in a few years after, they murdered their king; then immediately aboliſhed the whole houſe of lords; and ſo, at laſt, obtained their wiſhes, of having a government of the people, and a new religion, both after the manner of Geneva, without a king, a biſhop, or a nobleman; and this they blaſphemouſly called, "The kingdom of Chriſt and "his ſaints."

This is enough for your information on the firſt head: I ſhall therefore proceed to the ſecond, wherein I will ſhew you the miſerable conſequences which that abominable rebellion and murder produced in theſe nations.

Firſt, The Iriſh rebellion was wholly owing to that wicked Engliſh parliament. For the leaders in the Iriſh Popiſh maſſacre would never have dared to ſtir a finger, if they had not been encouraged by that rebellious ſpirit in the Engliſh houſe of commons, which they very well knew muſt diſable the king from ſending any ſupplies to his Proteſtant ſubjects here; and therefore, we may truly ſay that the Engliſh parliament held the king's hands, while the Iriſh Papiſts here were cutting our grandfathers throats.

Secondly, That murderous Puritan parliament, when they had all in their own power, could not agree upon any one method of ſettling a form either of religion or civil government; but changed every day from ſchiſm to ſchiſm, from hereſy to hereſy, and from one faction to another: Whence aroſe that wild confuſion ſtill continuing in our ſeveral ways

ways of ſerving God, and thoſe abſurd notions of civil power, which have ſo often torn us with factions, more than any other nation in Europe.

Thirdly, To this rebellion and murder have been owing the riſe and progreſs of Atheiſm among us. For men, obſerving what numberleſs villanies of all kinds were committed during twenty years, under pretence of zeal and the reformation of God's church, were eaſily tempted to doubt that all religion was a mere impoſture: and the ſame ſpirit of infidelity, ſo far ſpread among us at this preſent, is nothing but the fruit of the ſeeds ſown by thoſe rebellious hypocritical ſaints.

Fourthly, The old virtue, and loyalty, and generous ſpirit of the Engliſh nation were wholly corrupted, by the power, the doctrine, and the example, of thoſe wicked people. Many of the ancient nobility were killed, and their families extinct, in defence of their prince and country, or murdered by the mercileſs courts of juſtice. Some of the worſt among them favoured or complied with the reigning iniquities; and not a few of the new ſet, created when the martyr's ſon was reſtored, were ſuch who had drunk too deep of the bad principles then prevailing.

Fifthly, The children of the murdered prince were forced to fly, for the ſafety of their lives, to foreign countries; where one of them at leaſt, I mean king James II., was ſeduced to Popery; which ended in the loſs of his kingdoms, the miſery and deſolation of this country, and a long and expenſive war abroad. Our deliverance was owing

to the valour and conduct of the late king; and therefore, we ought to remember him with gratitude, but not mingled with blaſphemy or idolatry. It was happy that his intereſts and ours were the ſame: and God gave him greater ſucceſs than our ſins deſerved. But, as a houſe thrown down by a ſtorm, is ſeldom re-built without ſome change in the foundation; ſo it hath happened, that ſince the late Revolution, men have ſate much looſer in the true fundamentals both of religion and government, and factions have been more violent, treacherous, and malicious than ever; men running naturally from one extreme into another; and for private ends, taking up thoſe very opinions profeſſed by the leaders in that rebellion, which carried the bleſſed martyr to the ſcaffold.

Sixthly, Another conſequence of this horrid rebellion and murder was, the deſtroying or defacing of ſuch vaſt numbers of God's houſes. "In their "ſelf-will they digged down a wall." If a ſtranger ſhould now travel in England, and obſerve the churches in his way, he could not otherwiſe conclude, than that ſome vaſt army of Turks or Heathens had been ſent on purpoſe to ruin and blot out all marks of Chriſtianity. They ſpared neither the ſtatues of ſaints, nor antient prelates, nor kings, nor benefactors; broke down the tombs and monuments of men famous in their generations, ſeized the veſſels of ſilver ſet apart for the holieſt uſe, tore down the moſt innocent ornaments both within and without, made the houſes of *prayer*, dens of thieves, or ſtables for cattle. Theſe

were the mildeſt effects of Puritan zeal and devotion for Chriſt; and this was what themſelves affected to call a thorough reformation. In this kingdom, thoſe ravages were not ſo eaſily ſeen; for, the people here being too poor to raiſe ſuch noble temples, the mean ones we had were not defaced, but totally deſtroyed.

Upon the whole, it is certain, that although God might have found out many other ways to have puniſhed a ſinful people, without permitting this rebellion and murder; yet, as the courſe of the world hath run ever ſince, we need ſeek for no other cauſes of all the public evils we have hitherto ſuffered, or may ſuffer for the future, by the miſconduct of princes, or wickedneſs of the people.

I go on now, upon the third head, to ſhew you to what good uſes this ſolemn day of humiliation may be applied.

Firſt, It may be an inſtruction to princes themſelves, to be careful in the choice of thoſe who are their adviſers in matters of law. All the judges of England, except one or two, adviſed the king, that he might legally raiſe money upon the ſubjects, for building of ſhips, without conſent of parliament; which, as it was the greateſt overſight of his reign, ſo it proved the principal foundation of all his misfortunes. Princes may likewiſe learn from hence, not to ſacrifice a faithful ſervant to the rage of a faction; nor to truſt any body of men with a greater ſhare of power than the laws of the land have appointed them, much leſs to depoſit

it in their hands until they ſhall pleaſe to reſtore it.

Secondly, By bringing to mind the tragedy of this day, and the conſequences that have ariſen from it, we ſhall be convinced how neceſſary it is for thoſe in power to curb in ſeaſon all ſuch unruly ſpirits as deſire to introduce new doctrines and diſcipline in the church, or new forms of government in the ſtate. Thoſe wicked Puritans began, in queen Elizabeth's time, to quarrel only with ſurplices and other habits, with the ring in matrimony, the croſs in baptiſm, and the like; thence they went on to farther matters of higher importance; and at laſt, they muſt needs have the whole government of the church diſſolved. This great work they compaſſed, firſt, by depriving the biſhops of their ſeats in parliament; then they aboliſhed the whole order; and at laſt, which was their original deſign, they ſeized on all the church-lands, and divided the ſpoil among themſelves, and, like Jeroboam, made prieſts of the very dregs of the people. This was their way of reforming the church. As to the civil government, you have already heard how they modeled it, upon the murder of their king, and diſcarding the nobility. Yet, clearly to ſhew what a Babel they had built, after twelve years trial and twenty ſeveral ſorts of government, the nation, grown weary of their tyranny, was forced to call in the ſon of him whom thoſe reformers had ſacrificed. And thus were Simeon and Levi divided in Jacob, and ſcattered in Iſrael.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, Although the ſucceſſors of thoſe Puritans, I mean our preſent Diſſenters, do not think fit to obſerve this day of humiliation; yet it would be very proper in them, upon ſome occaſions, to renounce, in a public manner, thoſe principles upon which their predeceſſors acted; and it will be more prudent in them to do ſo, becauſe thoſe very Puritans, of whom ours are followers, found, by experience, that after they had overturned the church and ſtate, murdered their king, and were projecting what they called a kingdom of the ſaints, they were cheated of the power and poſſeſſions they only panted after, by an upſtart ſect of religion that grew out of their own bowels, who ſubjected them to one tyrant, while they were endeavouring to ſet up a thouſand.

Fourthly, Thoſe who profeſs to be followers of our church eſtabliſhed, and yet preſume in diſcourſe to juſtify or excuſe that rebellion and murder of the king, ought to conſider how utterly contrary all ſuch opinions are to the doctrine of Chriſt and his apoſtles, as well as to the articles of our church, and to the preaching and practice of its true profeſſors for above a hundred years. Of late times indeed, and I ſpeak it with grief of heart, we have heard even ſermons of a ſtrange nature: although reaſon would make one think it a very unaccountable way of procuring favour under a monarchy, by palliating and leſſening the guilt of thoſe who murdered the beſt of kings in cold blood, and, for a time, deſtroyed the very monarchy itſelf.

Pray God, we may never more hear ſuch doctrine from the pulpit, nor have it ſcattered about in print, to poiſon the people!

Fifthly, Some general knowledge of this horrid rebellion and murder, with the conſequences they had upon theſe nations, may be a warning to our people, not to believe a lie, and to miſtruſt thoſe deluding ſpirits, who, under pretence of a purer and more reformed religion, would lead them from their duty to God and the laws. Politicians may ſay what they pleaſe; but it is no hard thing at all for the meaneſt perſon, who hath common underſtanding, to know whether he be well or ill governed. If he be freely allowed to follow his trade and calling; if he be ſecure in his property, and hath the benefit of the law to defend himſelf againſt injuſtice and oppreſſion; if his religion be different from that of his country, and the government think fit to tolerate it; (which he may be very ſecure of, let it be what it will) he ought to be fully ſatisfied, and give no offence, by writing or diſcourſe, to the worſhip eſtabliſhed, as the Diſſenting preachers are too apt to do. But, if he hath any new viſions of his own, it is his duty to be quiet, and poſſeſs them in ſilence, without diſturbing the community by a furious zeal for making proſelytes. This was the folly and madneſs of thoſe ancient Puritan fanaticks: they muſt needs overturn heaven and earth, violate all the laws of God and man, make their country a field of blood, to propagate whatever wild or wicked opinions came into their heads, declaring

declaring all their abſurdities and blaſphemies to proceed from the Holy Ghoſt.

To conclude this head. In anſwer to that objection of keeping up animoſity and hatred between Proteſtants, by the obſervation of this day; if there be any ſect, or ſort of people among us, who profeſs the ſame principles in religion and government which thoſe Puritan rebels put in practice, I think it is the intereſt of all thoſe who love the church and king, to keep up as ſtrong a party againſt them as poſſible, until they ſhall, in a body, renounce all thoſe wicked opinions upon which their predeceſſors acted, to the diſgrace of Chriſtianity, and the perpetual infamy of the Engliſh nation.

When we accuſe the Papiſts of the horrid doctrine, "that no faith ought to be kept with here-"ticks;" they deny it to a man: and yet we juſtly think it dangerous to truſt them, becauſe we know their actions have been ſometimes ſuitable to that opinion. But the followers of thoſe who beheaded the martyr, have not yet renounced their principles; and till they do, they may be juſtly ſuſpected: neither will the bare name of Proteſtants ſet them right; for, ſurely, Chriſt requires more from us than a profeſſion of hating Popery, which a Turk or an Atheiſt may do as well as a Proteſtant.

If an enſlaved people ſhould recover their liberty, from a tyrannical power of any ſort, who could blame them for commemorating their deliverance by a day of joy and thankſgiving? And doth not the deſtruction of a church, a king, and three

kingdoms, by the artifices, hypocriſy, and cruelty, of a wicked race of ſoldiers and preachers, and other ſons of Belial, equally require a ſolemn time of humiliation; eſpecially ſince the conſequences of that bloody ſcene ſtill continue, as I have already ſhewn, in their effects upon us?

Thus I have done with the three heads I propoſed to diſcourſe on. But, before I conclude, I muſt give a caution to thoſe who hear me, that they may not think I am pleading for abſolute unlimited power in any one man. It is true, all power is from God; and, as the apoſtle ſays, "The powers that be are ordained of God:" but this is in the ſame ſenſe that all we have is from God, our food and raiment, and whatever poſſeſſion we hold by lawful means. Nothing can be meant in thoſe or any other words of Scripture, to juſtify tyrannical power, or the ſavage cruelties of thoſe Heathen emperors who lived in the time of the apoſtles. And ſo St. Paul concludes, "The "powers that be are ordained of God:" for what? why, "for the puniſhment of evil-doers, and "the praiſe, the reward of them that do well." There is no more inward value in the greateſt emperor, than in the meaneſt of his ſubjects: his body is compoſed of the ſame ſubſtance, the ſame parts, and with the ſame or greater infirmities: his education is generally worſe, by flattery, and idleneſs, and luxury, and thoſe evil diſpoſitions that early power is apt to give. It is therefore againſt common ſenſe, that his private perſonal intereſt, or pleaſure,

pleaſure, ſhould be put in the balance with the ſafety of millions; every one of which is equal by nature, equal in the ſight of God, equally capable of ſalvation: and it is for their ſakes, not his own, that he is entruſted with the government over them. He hath as high truſt as can ſafely be repoſed in one man, and if he diſcharge it as he ought, he deſerves all the honour and duty that a mortal may be allowed to receive. His perſonal failings we have nothing to do with; and errors in government are to be imputed to his miniſters in the ſtate. To what height thoſe errors may be ſuffered to proceed, is not the buſineſs of this day, or this place, or of my function, to determine. When oppreſſions grow too great and univerſal to be borne, nature or neceſſity may find a remedy. But, if a private perſon reaſonably expects pardon, upon his amendment, for all faults that are not capital; it would be a hard condition indeed, not to give the ſame allowance to a prince; who muſt ſee with other men's eyes, and hear with other men's ears, which are often wilfully blind and deaf. Such was the condition of the martyr; and is ſo, in ſome degree, of all other princes. Yet, this we may juſtly ſay in defence of the common people in all civilized nations, that it muſt be a very bad government indeed, where the body of the ſubjects will not rather chooſe to live in peace and obedience, than take up arms on pretence of faults in the adminiſtration, unleſs where the vulgar are deluded by falſe preachers to grow fond of

of new viſions and fancies in religion; which, managed by dextrous men, for ſiniſter ends of malice, envy, or ambition, have often made whole nations run mad. This was exactly the caſe in the whole progreſs of that great rebellion, and the murder of king Charles I. But the late Revolution under the prince of Orange, was occaſioned by a proceeding directly contrary, the oppreſſion and injuſtice there beginning from the throne: for that unhappy prince, king James II., did not only invade our laws and liberties, but would have forced a falſe religion upon his ſubjects, for which he was deſervedly rejected, ſince there could be no other remedy found, or at leaſt agreed on. But, under the bleſſed martyr, the deluded people would have forced many falſe religions, not only on their fellow-ſubjects, but even upon their ſovereign himſelf, and at the ſame time invaded all his undoubted rights; and becauſe he would not comply, raiſed a horrid rebellion, wherein, by the permiſſion of God, they prevailed, and put their ſovereign to death, like a common criminal, in the face of the world.

Therefore, thoſe who ſeem to think they cannot otherwiſe juſtify the late Revolution, and the change of the ſucceſſion, than by leſſening the guilt of the Puritans, do certainly put the greateſt affront imaginable upon the preſent powers, by ſuppoſing any relation or reſemblance between that Rebellion and the late Revolution; and, conſequently, that the preſent eſtabliſhment is to be defended

defended by the ſame arguments which thoſe uſurpers made uſe of, who, to obtain their tyranny, trampled under foot all the laws both of God and man.

One great deſign of my diſcourſe was, to give you warning againſt running into either extreme of two bad opinions, with relation to obedience. As kings are called gods upon earth; ſo ſome would allow them an equal power with God, over all laws and ordinances; and that the liberty, and property, and life, and religion of the ſubject, depended wholly upon the breath of the prince; which however, I hope, was never meant by thoſe who pleaded for paſſive obedience. And this opinion hath not been confined to that party which was firſt charged with it; but hath ſometimes gone over to the other, to ſerve many an evil turn of intereſt or ambition; who have been as ready to enlarge prerogative, where they could find their own account, as the higheſt maintainers of it.

On the other ſide, ſome look upon kings as anſwerable for every miſtake or omiſſion in government, and bound to comply with the moſt unreaſonable demands of an unquiet faction; which was the caſe of thoſe who perſecuted the bleſſed martyr of this day from his throne to the ſcaffold.

Between theſe two extremes, it is eaſy, from what hath been ſaid, to chooſe a middle: to be good and loyal ſubjects; yet, according to your power, faithful aſſertors of your religion and liberties: to avoid

avoid all broachers and preachers of new-fang doctrines in the church: to be ſtrict obſervers the laws, which cannot be juſtly taken from y without your own conſent: in ſhort, "to ol "God and the king, and meddle not with th "who are given to change."

Which that you may all do, &c.

A

SERMON

ON

FALSE WITNESS.

EXODUS xx. 16.

Thou ſhalt not bear falſe Witneſs againſt thy Neighbour.

IN thoſe great changes that are made in a country, by the prevailing of one party over another, it is very convenient that the prince, and thoſe who are in authority under him, ſhould uſe all juſt and proper methods for preventing any miſchief to the public from ſeditious men. And Governors do well, when they encourage any good ſubject to diſcover (as his duty obligeth him) whatever plots or conſpiracies may be any way dangerous to the ſtate: neither are they to be blamed, even when they receive informations from bad men, in order to find out the truth, when it concerns the public welfare. Every one indeed is naturally inclined to have an ill opinion of an informer; although it is not impoſſible but an honeſt man may be called by that name. For whoever knoweth any thing, the telling of which would prevent ſome great evil to his prince, his country, or his neighbour, is bound in conſcience to reveal it. But the miſchief is, that when

when parties are violently inflamed, which ſeemetl unfortunately to be our caſe at preſent, there i never wanting a ſet of evil inſtruments, who, eithe out of mad zeal, private hatred, or filthy lucre, ar always ready to offer their ſervice to the prevailing ſide, and become accuſers of their brethren, without any regard to truth or charity. Holy Davic numbers this among the chief of his ſufferings; " Falſe Witneſſes are riſen up againſt me, and ſuch " as breathe out Cruelty *." Our Saviour and his apoſtles did likewiſe undergo the ſame diſtreſs, as we read both in the Goſpels and the Acts.

Now becauſe the ſin of falſe witneſſing is ſo horrible and dangerous in itſelf, and ſo odious to God and man; and becauſe the bitterneſs of too many among us is riſen to ſuch a height, that it is not eaſy to know where it will ſtop, or how far ſome weak and wicked minds may be carried by a miſtaken zeal, a malicious temper, or hope of reward, to break this great commandment delivered in the text: therefore, in order to prevent this evil, and the conſequences of it, at leaſt among you who are my hearers, I ſhall,

I. FIRST, Shew you ſeveral ways by which a man may be called a falſe witneſs againſt his neighbour.

II. SECONDLY, I ſhall give you ſome rules for your conduct and behaviour, in order to defend yourſelves againſt the malice and cunning of falſe accuſers.

* Pſal. xxvii. 12.

And

III. And laſtly, I ſhall conclude with ſhewing you very briefly, how far it is your duty, as good ſubjects and good neighbours, to bear faithful witneſs, when you are lawfully called to it by thoſe in authority, or by the ſincere advice of your own conſciences.

I. As to the firſt, there are ſeveral ways by which a man may be juſtly called a falſe witneſs againſt his neighbour.

Firſt, According to the direct meaning of the word, when a man accuſeth his neighbour without the leaſt ground of truth. So we read, "that Je-"zabel hired two ſons of Belial to accuſe Naboth "for blaſpheming God and the King, for which, "although he was entirely innocent, he was ſtoned "to death." And in our age it is not eaſy to tell how many men have loſt their lives, been ruined in their fortunes, and put to ignominious puniſhment, by the downright perjury of falſe witneſſes! the law itſelf in ſuch caſes being not able to protect the innocent. But this is ſo horrible a crime, that it doth not need to be aggravated by words.

A ſecond way by which a man becometh a falſe witneſs is, when he mixeth falſehood and truth together, or concealeth ſome circumſtances, which, if they were told, would deſtroy the falſehoods he uttereth. So the two falſe witneſſes who accuſed our Saviour before the chief Prieſts, by a very little perverting of his words, would have made him guilty of a capital crime; for ſo it was among the

Jews to propheſy any evil againſt the temple: This fellow ſaid, "I am able to deſtroy the tem-"ple of God, and to build it in three days;" whereas the words, as our Saviour ſpoke them, were to another end, and differently expreſſed: for when the Jews aſked him to ſhew them a ſign, he ſaid; "Deſtroy this temple, and in three days "I will raiſe it up." In ſuch caſes as theſe, an innocent man is half confounded, and looketh as if he were guilty, ſince he neither can deny his words, nor perhaps readily ſtrip them from the malicious additions of a falſe witneſs.

Thirdly, A man is a falſe witneſs, when, in accuſing his neighbour, he endeavours to aggravate by his geſtures, and tone of his voice, or when he chargeth a man with words which were only repeated or quoted from ſomebody elſe. As if any one ſhould tell me that he heard another ſpeak certain dangerous and ſeditious ſpeeches, and I ſhould immediately accuſe him for ſpeaking them himſelf; and ſo drop the only circumſtance that made him innocent. This was the caſe of St. Stephen. The falſe witneſſes ſaid, "This man ceaſeth "not to ſpeak blaſphemous words againſt this holy "place and the law." Whereas St. Stephen ſaid no ſuch words; but only repeated ſome propheſies of Jeremiah or Malachi, which threatened Jeruſalem with deſtruction if it did not repent: however, by the fury of the people, this innocent holy perſon was ſtoned to death for words he never ſpoke.

Fourthly,

Fourthly, The blackeſt kind of falſe witneſſes are thoſe, who do the office of the Devil, by tempting their brethren in order to betray them. I cannot call to mind any inſtances of this kind mentioned in holy ſcripture. But I am afraid, this vile practice hath been too much followed in the world, When a man's temper hath been ſo ſoured by misfortunes and hard uſage, that perhaps he hath reaſon enough to complain; then one of theſe ſeducers, under the pretence of friendſhip, will ſeem to lament his caſe, urge the hardſhips he hath ſuffered, and endeavour to raiſe his paſſions, until he hath ſaid ſomething that a malicious informer can pervert or aggravate againſt him in a court of juſtice.

Fifthly, Whoever beareth witneſs againſt his neighbour, out of a principle of malice and revenge, from any old grudge, or hatred to his perſon; ſuch a man is a falſe witneſs in the ſight of God, although what he ſays be true; becauſe the motive or cauſe is evil, not to ſerve his prince or country, but to gratify his own reſentments. And therefore, although a man thus accuſed may be very juſtly puniſhed by the law, yet this doth by no means acquit the accuſer; who, inſtead of regarding the public ſervice, intended only to glut his private rage and ſpite.

Sixthly, I number among falſe witneſſes, all thoſe who make a trade of being informers in hope of favour and reward; and to this end employ their time, either by liſtening in public places, to catch up an accidental word; or in corrupting men's

ſervants to diſcover any unwary expreſſion of the maſter; or thruſting themſelves into company, and then uſing the moſt indecent ſcurrilous language faſtening a thouſand falſehoods and ſcandals upon a whole party, on purpoſe to provoke ſuch an anſwer as they may turn to an accuſation. And truly this ungodly race is ſaid to be grown ſo numerous that men of different parties can hardly converſe together with any ſecurity. Even the pulpit hath not been free from the miſrepreſentation of theſe informers; of whom the clergy have not wanted occaſions to complain with holy David: "They "daily miſtake my words, all they imagine is to "do me evil." Nor is it any wonder at all, that this trade of informing ſhould be now in a flouriſhing condition, ſince our caſe is manifeſtly thus: We are divided into two parties, with very little charity or temper towards each other: The prevailing ſide may talk of paſt things as they pleaſe with ſecurity; and generally do it in the moſt provoking words they can invent; while thoſe who are down, are ſometimes tempted to ſpeak in favour of a loſt cauſe, and therefore, without great caution, muſt needs be often caught tripping, and thereby furniſh plenty of materials for witneſſes and informers.

Laſtly, Thoſe may well be reckoned among falſe witneſſes againſt their neighbour, who bring him into trouble and puniſhment by ſuch accuſations as are of no conſequence at all to the publick, nor can be of any other uſe but to create vexation. Such witneſſes are thoſe who cannot hear an idle intempe-

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rate expreſſion, but they muſt immediately run to the magiſtrate to inform; or perhaps wrangling in their cups over night, when they were not able to ſpeak or apprehend three words of common ſenſe, will pretend to remember every thing in the morning, and think themſelves very properly qualified to be accuſers of their brethren. God be thanked, the throne of our king is too firmly ſettled to be ſhaken by the folly and raſhneſs of every ſottiſh companion. And I do not in the leaſt doubt, that when thoſe in power begin to obſerve the falſehood, the prevarication, the aggravating manner, the treachery and ſeducing, the malice and revenge, the love of lucre, and laſtly the trifling accuſations in too many wicked people; they will be as ready to diſcourage every ſort of thoſe whom I have numbered among falſe witneſſes, as they will be to countenance honeſt men, who, out of a true zeal to their prince and country, do, in the innocence of their hearts, freely diſcover whatever they may apprehend to be dangerous to either. A good Chriſtian will think it ſufficient to reprove his brother for a raſh unguarded word, where there is neither danger nor evil example to be apprehended; or, if he will not amend by reproof, avoid his converſation.

II. And thus much may ſerve to ſhew the ſeveral ways whereby a man may be ſaid to be a falſe witneſs againſt his neighbour. I might have added one kind more, and it is of thoſe who inform againſt their neighbour out of fear of puniſhment

to themſelves; which, although it be more cuſable, and hath leſs of malice than any of reſt, cannot however be juſtified. I go on the fore upon the ſecond head, to give you ſome ri for your conduct and behaviour, in order to fend yourſelves againſt the malice and cunning falſe accuſers.

It is readily agreed, that innocence is the l protection in the world; yet that it is not alw ſufficient without ſome degree of prudence, Saviour himſelf intimateth to us, by inſtructing diſciples "to be wiſe as ſerpents, as well as in "cent as doves." But, if ever innocence be weak a defence, it is chiefly ſo in jealous and ſuſ tious times, when factions are arrived to a h pitch of animoſity, and the minds of men, inſt of being warmed by a true zeal for religion, inflamed only by party fury. Neither is virtue ſelf a ſufficient ſecurity in ſuch times, becauſe it not allowed to be virtue, otherwiſe than as it h a mixture of party.

However, although virtue and innocence are infallible defence againſt perjury, malice, ſubornation, yet they are great ſupports for enabl us to bear thoſe evils with temper and reſignati and it is an unſpeakable comfort to a good m under the malignity of evil mercenary tongu that a few years will carry his appeal to a hig tribunal, where falſe witneſſes, inſtead of daring bring accuſations before an all-ſeeing Judge, call for mountains to cover them. As for eart judges, they ſeldom have it in their power,

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God knows whether they have it in their will, to mingle mercy with juſtice; they are ſo far from knowing the hearts of the accuſer or the accuſed, that they cannot know their own; and their underſtanding is frequently biaſſed, although their intentions be juſt. They are often prejudiced to cauſes, parties, and perſons, through the infirmity of human nature, without being ſenſible themſelves that they are ſo: And therefore, although God may pardon their errors here, he certainly will not ratify their ſentences hereafter.

However, ſince, as we have before obſerved, our Saviour preſcribeth to us to be not only harmleſs as doves, but wiſe as ſerpents; give me leave to preſcribe to you ſome rules, which the moſt ignorant perſon may follow for the conduct of his life, with ſafety, in perilous times, againſt falſe accuſers.

1ſt, Let me adviſe you to have nothing at all to do with that which is commonly called politicks, or the government of the world, in the nature of which it is certain you are utterly ignorant; and when your opinion is wrong, although it proceeds from ignorance, it ſhall be an accuſation againſt you. Beſides, opinions in government are right or wrong juſt according to the humour and diſpoſition of the times; and unleſs you have judgment to diſtinguiſh, you may be puniſhed at one time, for what you would be rewarded in another.

2dly, Be ready at all times, in your words and actions, to ſhew your loyalty to the king that reigns over you. This is the plain manifeſt doctrine of

holy ſcripture: "Submit yourſelves to every ordi-
"nance of man for the Lord's ſake, whether it
"be to the king as ſupreme, &c." And another apoſtle telleth us, "The powers that be are or-
"dained of God." Kings are the ordinances of man by the permiſſion of God, and they are ordained of God by his inſtrument man. The powers that be, the preſent powers, which are ordained by God, and yet in ſome ſenſe are the ordinances of man, are what you muſt obey, without preſuming to examine into rights and titles; neither can it be reaſonably expected, that the powers in being, or in poſſeſſion, ſhould ſuffer their title to be publicly diſputed by ſubjects without ſevere puniſhment. And to ſay the truth, there is no duty in religion more eaſy to the generality of mankind, than obedience to government: I ſay, to the generality of mankind; becauſe while their law, and property, and religion are preſerved, it is of no great conſequence to them by whom they are governed, and therefore they are under no temptations to deſire a change.

3dly, In order to prevent any danger from the malice of falſe witneſſes, be ſure to avoid intemperance. If it be often ſo hard for men to govern their tongues when they are in their right ſenſes, how can they hope to do it when they are heated with drink? In thoſe caſes moſt men regard not what they ſay, and too many not what they ſwear; neither will a man's memory diſordered with drunkenneſs ſerve to defend himſelf, or ſatisfy him whether he were guilty or not.

4thly, Avoid,

4thly, Avoid, as much as poſſible, the converſation of thoſe people who are given to talk of publick perſons and affairs, eſpecially of thoſe whoſe opinions in ſuch matters are different from yours. I never once knew any diſputes of this kind managed with tolerable temper; but on both ſides they only agree as much as poſſible to provoke the paſſions of each other; indeed with this diſadvantage, that he who argueth on the ſide of power, may ſpeak ſecurely the utmoſt his malice can invent; while the other lieth every moment at the mercy of an informer; and the law, in theſe caſes, will give no allowance at all for paſſion, inadvertency, or the higheſt provocation.

I come now, in the laſt place, to ſhew you how far it is your duty, as good ſubjects and good neighbours, to bear faithful witneſs, when you are lawfully called to it by thoſe in authority, or by the ſincere advice of your own conſciences.

In what I have hitherto ſaid, you eaſily find, that I do not talk of bearing witneſs in general, which is and may be lawful upon a thouſand accounts, in relation to property and other matters, and wherein there are many ſcandalous corruptions, almoſt peculiar to this country, which would require to be handled by themſelves. But I have confined my diſcourſe only to that branch of bearing falſe witneſs whereby the publick is injured, in the ſafety or honour of the prince, or thoſe in authority under him.

In order therefore to be a faithful witneſs, it is firſt neceſſary that a man doth not undertake it from

from the leaſt proſpect of any private advantage to himſelf. The ſmalleſt mixture of that leaven will ſour the whole lump. Intereſt will infallibly bias his judgment, although he be ever ſo firmly reſolved to ſay nothing but truth. He cannot ſerve God and Mammon; but as intereſt is the chief end, he will uſe the moſt effectual means to advance it. He will aggravate circumſtances to make his teſtimony valuable; he will be ſorry if the perſon he accuſeth ſhould be able to clear himſelf; in ſhort, he is labouring a point which he thinks neceſſary to his own good; and it would be a diſappointment to him, that his neighbour ſhould prove innocent.

5thly, Every good ſubject is obliged to bear witneſs againſt his neighbour, for any action or words the telling of which would be of advantage to the publick, and the concealment dangerous, or of ill example. Of this nature are all plots and conſpiracies againſt the peace of a nation; all diſgraceful words againſt a prince, ſuch as clearly diſcover a diſloyal and rebellious heart: but, where our prince and country can poſſibly receive no damage or diſgrace; where no ſcandal or ill example is given; and our neighbour, it may be, provoked by us, happeneth privately to drop a raſh or indiſcreet word, which in ſtrictneſs of law might bring him under trouble, perhaps to his utter undoing; there we are obliged, we ought to proceed no farther than warning and reproof.

In deſcribing to you the ſeveral kinds of falſe witneſſes, I have made it leſs neceſſary to dwell

much longer upon this head; becauſe a faithful witneſs, like every thing elſe, is known by his contrary: Therefore it would be only repetition of what I have already ſaid, to tell you, that the ſtricteſt truth is required in a witneſs; that he ſhould be wholly free from malice againſt the perſon he accuſes; that he ſhould not aggravate the ſmalleſt circumſtance againſt the criminal, nor conceal the ſmalleſt in his favour; and to crown all, though I have hinted it before, that the only cauſe or motive of his undertaking an office, ſo ſubject to cenſure, and ſo difficult to perform, ſhould be the ſafety and ſervice of his prince and country.

Under theſe conditions and limitations (but not otherwiſe) there is no manner of doubt, but a good man may lawfully and juſtly become a witneſs in behalf of the publick, and may perform that office (in its own nature not very deſirable) with honour and integrity. For the command in the text is poſitive, as well as negative; that is to ſay, as we are directed not to bear falſe witneſs againſt our neighbour, ſo we are to bear true. Next to the word of God, and the advice of teachers, every man's conſcience, ſtrictly examined, will be his beſt director in this weighty point; and to that I ſhall leave him.

It might perhaps be thought proper to have added ſomething by way of advice to thoſe who are unhappily engaged in this abominable trade and ſin of bearing falſe witneſs; but I am far from believing or ſuppoſing any of that deſtructive tribe are now my hearers. I look upon them as a ſort of people that ſeldom frequent theſe holy places, where

they

they can hardly pick up any materials to ſerve turn, unleſs they think it worth their while to repreſent or pervert the words of the preac And whoever is that way diſpoſed, I doubt, ca be in a very good condition to edify and reform l ſelf by what he heareth. God in his mercy ſerve us from all the guilt of this grievous ſin bidden in my text, and from the ſnares of t who are guilty of it.

I ſhall conclude with one or two precepts g by Moſes from God to the children of Iſrae the xxiii[d] of Exod. 1, 2.

" Thou ſhalt not raiſe a falſe report: Put
" thine hand with the wicked, to be an unr
" teous witneſs.

" Thou ſhalt not follow a multitude to do
" neither ſhalt thou ſpeak in a cauſe to decline
" many, to wreſt judgment."

Now to God the Father, &c.

A

SERMON

ON

THE POOR MAN'S CONTENTMENT.

PHILIP. Chap. iv. Part of the 11th Verſe.

I have learned, in whatſoever ſtate I am, therewith to be content.

THE holy ſcripture is full of expreſſions to ſet forth the miſerable condition of man during the whole progreſs of his life; his weakneſs, pride, and vanity; his unmeaſurable deſires, and perpetual diſappointments; the prevalency of his paſſions, and the corruptions of his reaſon; his deluding hopes, and his real, as well as imaginary fears; his natural and artificial wants; his cares and anxieties; the diſeaſes of his body, and the diſeaſes of his mind; the ſhortneſs of his life; his dread of a future ſtate, with his careleſsneſs to prepare for it: and the wiſe men of all ages have made the ſame reflections.

But all theſe are general calamities, from which none are excepted; and being without remedy, it is vain to bewail them. The great queſtion, long debated in the world, is, whether the rich or the poor are the leaſt miſerable of the two? It is certain that no rich man ever deſired to be poor, and that

that moſt, if not all poor men, deſire to be rich; whence it may be argued, that in all appearance, the advantage lieth on the ſide of wealth, becauſe both parties agree in preferring it before poverty. But this reaſoning will be found to be falſe: for I lay it down as a certain truth, that God Almighty hath placed all men upon an equal foot, with reſpect to their happineſs in this world, and the capacity of attaining their ſalvation in the next; or, at leaſt, if there be any difference, it is not to the advantage of the rich and the mighty. Now, ſince a great part of thoſe who uſually make up our congregations, are not of conſiderable ſtation, and many among them, of the lower ſort, and ſince the meaner people are generally and juſtly charged with the ſin of repining and murmuring at their own condition, to which, however, their betters are ſufficiently ſubject (although, perhaps, for ſhame, not always ſo loud in their complaints) I thought it might be uſeful to reaſon upon this point in as plain a manner as I can. I ſhall therefore ſhew, firſt, that the poor enjoy many temporal bleſſings, which are not common to the rich and the great: and likewiſe, that the rich and the great are ſubject to many temporal evils, which are not common to the poor.

But here I would not be miſunderſtood; perhaps, there is not a word more abuſed than that of the poor, or wherein the world is more generally miſtaken. Among the number of thoſe who beg in our ſtreets, or are half-ſtarved at home, or languiſh in priſon for debt, there is hardly one in a hundred,

hundred, who doth not owe his misfortunes to his own lazineſs, or drunkenneſs, or worſe vices.

To theſe he owes thoſe very diſeaſes, which often diſable him from getting his bread. Such wretches are deſervedly unhappy; they can only blame themſelves; and when we are commanded to have pity on the poor, theſe are not underſtood to be of the number.

It is true indeed, that ſometimes honeſt, endeavouring men, are reduced to extreme want, even to the begging of alms, by loſſes, by accidents, by diſeaſes, and old age, without any fault of their own: but theſe are very few, in compariſon of the other; nor would their ſupport be any ſenſible burden to the publick, if the charity of well-diſpoſed perſons were not intercepted by thoſe common ſtrollers, who are moſt importunate, and who leaſt deſerve it. Theſe, indeed, are properly and juſtly called the poor, whom it ſhould be our ſtudy to find out and diſtinguiſh, by making them partake of our ſuperfluity and abundance.

But neither have theſe any thing to do with my preſent ſubject: for, by the poor, I only intend the honeſt, induſtrious artificer, the meaner ſort of tradeſmen, and the labouring man, who getteth his bread by the ſweat of his brows, in town or country, and who make the bulk of mankind among us.

Firſt, I ſhall therefore ſhew, that the poor (in the ſenſe I underſtand the word) do enjoy many temporal bleſſings, which are not common to the rich and great; and likewiſe, that the rich and great

great are ſubject to many temporal evils, which are not common to the poor.

Secondly, From the arguments offered to prove the foregoing head, I ſhall draw ſome obſervations that may be uſeful for your practice.

1. As to the firſt: Health, we know, is generally allowed to be the beſt of all earthly poſſeſſions, becauſe it is that, without which, we can have no ſatisfaction in any of the reſt. For riches are of no uſe, if ſickneſs taketh from us the ability of enjoying them, and power and greatneſs are then only a burden. Now, if we would look for health, it muſt be in the humble habitation of the labouring man, or induſtrious artificer, who earn their bread by the ſweat of their brows, and uſually live to a good old age, with a great degree of ſtrength and vigour.

The refreſhment of the body by ſleep, is another great happineſs of the meaner ſort. Their reſt is not diſturbed by the fear of thieves and robbers, nor is it interrupted by ſurfeits of intemperance. Labour and plain food ſupply the want of quieting draughts; and the wiſe man telleth us, that the ſleep of the labouring man is ſweet. As to children, which are certainly accounted of as a bleſſing, even to the poor, where induſtry is not wanting; they are an aſſiſtance to their honeſt parents, inſtead of being a burden; they are healthy and ſtrong, and fit for labour; neither is the father in fear, leſt his heir ſhould be ruined by an unequal match; nor is he ſolicitous about his riſing in the world, farther than to be able to get his bread.

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The poorer ſort are not the objects of general hatred or envy; they have no twinges of ambition, nor trouble themſelves with party-quarrels, or ſtate-diviſions. The idle rabble, who follow their ambitious leaders in ſuch caſes, do not fall within my deſcription of the poorer ſort; for, it is plain, I mean only the honeſt induſtrious poor in town or country, who are ſafeſt in times of public diſturbance, in perilous ſeaſons, and public revolutions, if they will be quiet, and do their own buſineſs: for, artificers and huſbandmen are neceſſary in all governments: but, in ſuch ſeaſons, the rich are the public mark, becauſe they are oftentimes of no uſe but to be plundered; like ſome ſort of birds, who are good for nothing but their feathers; and ſo fall a prey to the ſtrongeſt ſide.

Let us proceed, on the other ſide, to examine the diſadvantages that the rich and the great lie under, with reſpect to the happineſs of the preſent life.

Firſt then; While health, as we have ſaid, is the general portion of the lower ſort, the gout, the dropſy, the ſtone, the colick, and all other diſeaſes, are continually haunting the palaces of the rich and the great, as the natural attendants upon lazineſs and luxury. Neither does the rich man eat his ſumptuous fare with half the appetite and reliſh, that even the beggars do the crumbs which fall from his table: but, on the contrary, he is full of loathing and diſguſt, or at beſt of indifference, in the midſt of plenty. Thus their in-

temperance ſhortens their lives, without pleaſing their appetites.

Buſineſs, fear, guilt, deſign, anguiſh, and vexation, are continually buzzing about the curtains of the rich and the powerful, and will hardly ſuffer them to cloſe their eyes, unleſs when they are dozed with the fumes of ſtrong liquors.

It is a great miſtake to imagine, that the rich want but few things; their wants are more numerous, more craving, and urgent, than thoſe of poorer men: for, theſe endeavour only at the neceſſaries of life, which make them happy, and they think no farther: but the deſire of power and wealth is endleſs, and therefore impoſſible to be ſatisfied with any acquiſitions.

If riches were ſo great a bleſſing as they are commonly thought, they would at leaſt have this advantage, to give their owners cheerful hearts and countenances; they would often ſtir them up to expreſs their thankfulneſs to God, and diſcover their ſatisfaction to the world. But, in fact, the contrary to all this is true. For, where are there more cloudy brows, more melancholy hearts, or more ingratitude to their great Benefactor, than among thoſe who abound in wealth? And indeed, it is natural that it ſhould be ſo, becauſe thoſe men, who covet things that are hard to be got, muſt be hard to pleaſe; whereas a ſmall thing maketh a poor man happy; and great loſſes cannot befal him.

It is likewiſe worth conſidering, how few among the rich have procured their wealth by juſt mea-

ſures; how many owe their fortunes to the ſins of their parents, how many more to their own? If men's titles were to be tried before a true court of conſcience, where falſe ſwearing, and a thouſand vile artifices (that are well known, and can hardly be avoided in human courts of juſtice) would avail nothing; how many would be ejected with infamy and diſgrace? How many grow conſiderable by breach of truſt, by bribery and corruption? how many have ſold their religion, with the rights and liberties of themſelves and others, for power and employments?

And it is a miſtake to think, that the moſt hardened ſinner, who oweth his poſſeſſions or titles to any ſuch wicked arts of thieving, can have true peace of mind, under the reproaches of a guilty conſcience, and amid the cries of ruined widows and orphans.

I know not one real advantage that the rich have over the poor, except the power of doing good to others; but this is an advantage which God hath not given wicked men the grace to make uſe of. The wealth acquired by evil means, was never employed to good ends; for that would be to divide the kingdom of Satan againſt itſelf. Whatever hath been gained by fraud, avarice, oppreſſion, and the like, muſt be preſerved and increaſed by the ſame methods.

I ſhall add but one thing more upon this head, which I hope will convince you, that God (whoſe thoughts are not as our thoughts) never intended riches or power to be neceſſary for the happineſs

of mankind in this life; becauſe it is certain, t
there is not one ſingle good quality of the m
abſolutely neceſſary to obtain them, where r
are reſolved to be rich at any rate; neither honc
juſtice, temperance, wiſdom, religion, truth,
learning: for, a ſlight acquaintance of the wc
will inform us, that there have been many inſtan
of men in all ages, who have arrived at gr
poſſeſſions and great dignities, by cunning, fra
or flattery, without any of theſe, or any ot
virtues that can be named. Now, if riches a
greatneſs were ſuch bleſſings, that good men wi
out them could not have their ſhare of happineſ
this life; how cometh it to paſs, that God ſho
ſuffer them to be often dealt to the worſt, and m
profligate of mankind; that they ſhould be ge
rally procured by the moſt abominable means, a
applied to the baſeſt and moſt wicked uſes? T
ought not to be conceived of a juſt, a merciful
wiſe, and almighty Being. We muſt theref
conclude, that wealth and power are in their o
nature, at beſt, but things indifferent, and tha
good man may be equally happy without thei
provided that he hath a ſufficiency of the comm
bleſſings of human life to anſwer all the reaſona
and virtuous demands of nature, which his induſ
will provide, and ſobriety will prevent his wanti
Agur's prayer, with the reaſons of his wiſh, are f
to this purpoſe: "Give me neither pov
"ty nor riches. Feed me with food con
"nient for me; leſt I be full and deny th
"and ſay, Who is the Lord? or leſt I be po

"a

" and ſteal, and take the name of my God in " vain."

From what hath been ſaid, I ſhall, in the ſecond place, offer ſome conſiderations, that may be uſeful for your practice.

And here I ſhall apply myſelf chiefly to thoſe of the lower ſort, for whoſe comfort and ſatisfaction this diſcourſe is principally intended. For, having obſerved the great ſin of thoſe who do not abound in wealth, to be that of murmuring and repining, that God hath dealt his bleſſings unequally to the ſons of men, I thought it would be of great uſe to remove out of your minds ſo falſe and wicked an opinion, by ſhewing that your condition is really happier than moſt of you imagine.

Firſt, therefore, it hath been always agreed in the world, that the preſent happineſs of mankind conſiſted in the eaſe of our body, and the quiet of our mind; but, from what hath been already ſaid, it plainly appears, that neither wealth nor power do in any ſort contribute to either of theſe two bleſſings. If, on the contrary, by multiplying our deſires, they increaſe our diſcontents; if they deſtroy our health, gall us with painful diſeaſes, and ſhorten our life; if they expoſe us to hatred, to envy, to cenſure, to a thouſand temptations, it is not eaſy to ſee why a wiſe man ſhould make them his choice, for their own ſake, although it were in his power. Would any of you, who are in health and ſtrength of body, with moderate food and raiment earned by your own labour, rather chooſe to be in the rich man's bed, under the tor-

ture of the gout, unable to take your natural reſt, or natural nouriſhment, with the additional load of a guilty conſcience, reproaching you for injuſtice, oppreſſions, covetouſneſs, and fraud? No; but you would take the riches and power, and leave behind the inconveniencies that attend them; and ſo would every man living. But that is more than our ſhare, and God never intended this world for ſuch a place of reſt as we would make it; for the ſcripture aſſureth us that it was only deſigned as a place of trial. Nothing is more frequent than a man to wiſh himſelf in another's condition; yet he ſeldom doth it without ſome reſerve: he would not be ſo old; he would not be ſo ſickly; he would not be ſo cruel; he would not be ſo inſolent; he would not be ſo vicious; he would not be ſo oppreſſive; ſo griping; and ſo on. Whence it is plain, that in their own judgment, men are not ſo unequally dealt with as they would at firſt ſight imagine: for, if I would not change my condition with another man, without any exception or reſervation at all, I am in reality more happy than he.

Secondly, You of the meaner ſort are ſubject to fewer temptations than the rich; and therefore your vices are more unpardonable. Labour ſubdueth your appetites to be ſatisfied with common things; the buſineſs of your ſeveral callings filleth up your whole time; ſo that idleneſs, which is the bane and deſtruction of virtue, doth not lead you into the neighbourhood of ſin: your paſſions are cooler, by not being inflamed with exceſs, and therefore the gate and the way that lead to life, are

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not ſo ſtrait or ſo narrow to you, as to thoſe who live among all the allurements to wickedneſs. To ſerve God with the beſt of your care and underſtanding, and to be juſt and true in your dealings, is the ſhort ſum of your duty, and will be the more ſtrictly required of you, becauſe nothing lieth in the way to divert you from it.

Thirdly, It is plain from what I have ſaid, that you of the lower rank have no juſt reaſon to complain of your condition; becauſe, as you plainly ſee, it affordeth you ſo many advantages, and freeth you from ſo many vexations, ſo many diſtempers both of body and mind, which purſue and torment the rich and powerful.

Fourthly, You are to remember and apply, that the pooreſt perſon is not excuſed from doing good to others, and even relieving the wants of his diſtreſſed neighbour, according to his abilities; and if you perform your duty in this point, you far outdo the greateſt liberalities of the rich, and will accordingly be accepted of by God, and get your reward: for it is our Saviour's own doctrine, when the widow gave her two mites. The rich give out of their abundance; that is to ſay, what they give, they do not feel it in their way of living: but the poor man, who giveth out of his little ſtock, muſt ſpare it from the neceſſary food and raiment of himſelf and his family. And therefore our Saviour adds, "That the widow gave "more than all who went before her; for ſhe gave "all ſhe had, even all her living;" and ſo went home utterly unprovided to ſupply her neceſſities.

Laſtly, As it appeareth from what hath been ſaid, that you of the lower rank have, in reality, a greater ſhare of happineſs, your work of ſalvation is eaſier, by your being liable to fewer temptations; and as your reward in heaven is much more certain than it is to the rich, if you ſeriouſly perform your duty, for yours is the kingdom of heaven; ſo your neglect of it will be leſs excuſable, will meet with fewer allowances from God, and will be puniſhed with double ſtripes: for, the moſt unknowing among you cannot plead ignorance in what you have been ſo early taught, I hope, ſo often inſtructed in, and which is ſo eaſy to be underſtood, I mean the art of leading a life agreeable to the plain and poſitive laws of God. Perhaps you may think you lie under one diſadvantage, which the great and rich have not; that idleneſs will certainly reduce you to beggary; whereas thoſe who abound in wealth, lie under no neceſſity either of labour, or temperance, to keep enough to live on. But this is indeed one part of your happineſs, that the lowneſs of your condition, in a manner forceth you to what is pleaſing to God, and neceſſary for your daily ſupport. Thus your duty and intereſt are always the ſame.

To conclude; ſince our bleſſed Lord, inſtead of a rich and honourable ſtation in this world, was pleaſed to chooſe his lot among men of the lower condition; let not thoſe on whom the bounty of Providence hath beſtowed wealth and honours, deſpiſe the men who are placed in an humble and inferior ſtation; but rather, with their utmoſt power

by their countenance, by their protection, by juſt payment for their honeſt labour, encourage their daily endeavours for the virtuous ſupport of themſelves and their families. On the other hand, let the poor labour to provide things honeſt in the ſight of all men; and ſo, with diligence in their ſeveral employments, live ſoberly, righteouſly, and godlily in this preſent world, that they may obtain that glorious reward promiſed in the goſpel to the poor, I mean the kingdom of heaven.

Now to God the Father, &c.

A

SERMON

ON

THE CAUSES

OF THE

WRETCHED CONDITION OF IRELAND.

PSLAM cxliv. part of the 13th and 14th ver.

That there be no complaining in our ſtreets. Happy is the people that is in ſuch a caſe.

IT is a very melancholy reflection, that ſuch a country as ours, which is capable of producing all things neceſſary, and moſt things convenient for life, ſufficient for the ſupport of four times the number of its inhabitants, ſhould yet lie under the heavieſt load of miſery and want; our ſtreets crowded with beggars, ſo many of our lower ſort of tradeſmen, labourers, and artificers, not able to find clothes and food for their families.

I think it may therefore be of ſome uſe to lay before you the chief cauſes of this wretched condition we are in, and then it will be eaſier to aſſign what remedies are in our power towards removing, at leaſt, ſome part of theſe evils.

For, it is ever to be lamented, that we lie under many diſadvantages, not by our own faults, which

are

are peculiar to ourſelves, and of which, no other nation under heaven, hath any reaſon to complain.

I ſhall, therefore, firſt mention ſome cauſes of our miſeries, which I doubt are not to be remedied, until God ſhall put it in the hearts of thoſe who are the ſtronger, to allow us the common rights and privileges of brethren, fellow-ſubjects, and even of mankind.

The firſt cauſe of our miſery, is the intolerable hardſhips we lie under in every branch of trade, by which we are become as hewers of wood, and drawers of water, to our rigorous neighbours.

The ſecond cauſe of our miſerable ſtate is, the folly, the vanity, and ingratitude of thoſe vaſt numbers, who think themſelves too good to live in the country which gave them birth, and ſtill gives them bread; and rather chooſe to paſs their days, and conſume their wealth, and draw out the very vitals of their mother kingdom, among thoſe who heartily deſpiſe them.

Theſe I have but lightly touched on, becauſe I fear they are not to be redreſſed, and beſides, I am very ſenſible how ready ſome people are to take offence at the honeſt truth; and for that reaſon, I ſhall omit ſeveral other grievances, under which we are long likely to groan.

I ſhall therefore go on to relate ſome other cauſes of this nation's poverty, by which, if they continue much longer, it muſt infallibly ſink to utter ruin.

The firſt is, that monſtrous pride and vanity in bc ſexes, eſpecially the weaker ſex, who, in the midſt poverty, are ſuffered to run into all kind of expen and extravagance in dreſs, and particularly pridi themſelves to wear nothing but what cometh fro abroad, diſdaining the growth or manufacture of th own country, in thoſe articles with which they can better ſerved at home at half the expence; and th is grown to ſuch a height, that they will carry tl whole yearly rent of a good eſtate at once on the body. And as there is in that ſex a ſpirit of env by which they cannot endure to ſee others in better habit than themſelves, ſo thoſe, whoſe fo tunes can hardly ſupport their families in the n ceſſaries of life, will needs vie with the richeſt an greateſt among us, to the ruin of themſelves an their poſterity.

Neither are the men leſs guilty of this perniciou folly, who, in imitation of a gaudineſs and foj pery of dreſs, introduced of late years into ou neighbouring kingdom (as fools are apt to imitat only the defects of their betters) cannot find mate rials in their own country worthy to adorn thei bodies of clay, while their minds are naked o every valuable quality.

Thus our tradeſmen and ſhopkeepers, who dea in home goods, are left in a ſtarving condition, anc only thoſe encouraged who ruin the kingdom by importing among us foreign vanities.

Another cauſe of our low condition, is, our great luxury; the chief ſupport of which is, the materials of it brought to the nation in exchange

for

ıe few valuable things left us, whereby ſo thouſand families want the very neceſſaries

irdly, in moſt parts of this kingdom, the ıs are, from their infancy, ſo given up to ſs and ſloth, that they often chooſe to beg or rather than ſupport themſelves with their own ; they marry without the leaſt view or ht of being able to make any proviſion for families; and whereas, in all induſtrious na- children are looked on as a help to their ts; with us, for want of being early trained rk, they are an intolerable burden at home, grievous charge upon the publick; as ap- h from the vaſt number of ragged and naked en in town and country, led about by ſtroling n, trained up in ignorance, and all manner e.

tly, A great cauſe of this nation's miſery, is Egyptian bondage of cruel, oppreſſing, co- ı landlords; expecting that all who live under ſhould make bricks without ſtraw, who grieve ıvy when they ſee a tenant of their own in a coat, or able to afford one comfortable meal ıonth, by which the ſpirits of the people are ı, and made fit for ſlavery: the farmers and ers, almoſt through the whole kingdom, be- o all intents and purpoſes, as real beggars, of thoſe to whom we give our charity in the . And theſe cruel landlords are every day pling the kingdom, by forbidding their mi- tenants to till the earth, againſt common reaſon

reaſon and juſtice, and contrary to the practice and prudence of all other nations; by which, numberleſs families have been forced either to leave the kingdom, or ſtrole about, and increaſe the number of our thieves and beggars.

Such, and much worſe, is our condition at preſent, if I had leiſure or liberty to lay it before you; and, therefore, the next thing which might be conſidered is, whether there may be any probable remedy found, at leaſt againſt ſome part of theſe evils; for moſt of them are wholly deſperate.

But this being too large a ſubject to be now handled, and the intent of my diſcourſe confining me to give ſome directions concerning the poor of the city, I ſhall keep myſelf within thoſe limits. It is indeed in the power of the law-givers to found a ſchool in every pariſh of the kingdom, for teaching the meaner and poorer ſort of children to ſpeak and to read the Engliſh tongue, and to provide a reaſonable maintenance for the teachers. This would, in time, aboliſh that part of barbarity and ignorance, for which our natives are ſo deſpiſed by all foreigners; this would bring them to think and act according to the rules of reaſon, by which a ſpirit of induſtry, and thrift, and honeſty would be introduced among them. And, indeed, conſidering how ſmall a tax would ſuffice for ſuch a work, it is a public ſcandal that ſuch a thing ſhould never have been endeavoured, or, perhaps, ſo much as thought on.

To

To ſupply the want of ſuch a law, ſeveral pious perſons, in many parts of this kingdom, have been prevailed on, by the great endeavours and good example ſet them by the clergy, to erect charity-ſchools in ſeveral pariſhes, to which very often the richeſt pariſhioners contribute the leaſt. In theſe ſchools, children are, or ought to be, trained up to read and write, and caſt accompts; and theſe children ſhould, if poſſible, be of honeſt parents, gone to decay through age, ſickneſs, or other unavoidable calamity, by the hand of God; not the brood of wicked ſtrolers; for it is by no means reaſonable, that the charity of well-inclined people ſhould be applied to encourage the lewdneſs of thoſe profligate, abandoned women, who crowd our ſtreets with their borrowed or ſpurious iſſue.

In thoſe hoſpitals which have good foundations and rents to ſupport them, whereof, to the ſcandal of Chriſtianity, there are very few in this kingdom; I ſay, in ſuch hoſpitals, the children maintained ought to be only of decayed citizens, and freemen, and be bred up to good trades. But in theſe ſmall pariſh charity-ſchools, which have no ſupport but the caſual good-will of charitable people, I do altogether diſapprove the cuſtom of putting the children 'prentice, except to the very meaneſt trades; otherwiſe the poor honeſt citizen, who is juſt able to bring up his child, and pay a ſmall ſum of money with him to a good maſter, is wholly defeated, and the baſtard iſſue, perhaps of ſome beggar, preferred before him. And hence we come to be ſo over-ſtocked with 'prentices and journeymen,

journeymen, more than our diſcouraged country can employ; and I fear, the greateſt part of our thieves, pickpockets, and other vagabonds, are of this number.

Therefore, in order to make theſe pariſh charity-ſchools of great and univerſal uſe, I agree with the opinion of many wiſe perſons, that a new turn ſhould be given to this whole matter.

I think there is no complaint more juſt than what we find in almoſt every family, of the folly and ignorance, the fraud and knavery, the idleneſs and viciouſneſs, the waſteful ſquandering temper of ſervants; who are, indeed, become one of the many public grievances of the kingdom; whereof, I believe there are few maſters that now hear me, who are not convinced by their own experience. And I am very confident, that more families, of all degrees, have been ruined by the corruptions of ſervants, than by all other cauſes put together. Neither is this to be wondered at, when we conſider from what nurſeries ſo many of them are received into our houſes. The firſt is the tribe of wicked boys, wherewith moſt corners of this town are peſtered, who haunt public doors. Theſe, having been born of beggars, and bred to pilfer as ſoon as they can go or ſpeak, as years come on, are employed in the loweſt offices to get themſelves bread, are practiſed in all manner of villainy, and when they are grown up, if they are not entertained in a gang of thieves, are forced to ſeek for a ſervice. The other nurſery is the barbarous and deſart part of the country, from whence ſuch lads

come up hither to ſeek their fortunes, who are bred up from the dunghill in idleneſs, ignorance, lying and thieving. From theſe two nurſeries, I ſay, a great number of our ſervants come to us, ſufficient to corrupt all the reſt. Thus the whole race of ſervants in this kingdom have gotten ſo ill a reputation, that ſome perſons from England, come over hither into great ſtations, are ſaid to have abſolutely refuſed admitting any ſervant born among us into their families. Neither can they be juſtly blamed; for, although it is not impoſſible to find an honeſt native fit for a good ſervice, yet the enquiry is too troubleſome, and the hazard too great, for a ſtranger to attempt.

If we conſider the many misfortunes that befal private families, it will be found that ſervants are the cauſes and inſtruments of them all: are our goods embezzled, waſted, and deſtroyed? is our houſe burnt down to the ground? it is by the ſloth, the drunkenneſs or the villany of ſervants. Are we robbed and murdered in our beds? it is by confederacy with our ſervants. Are we engaged in quarrels and miſunderſtandings with our neighbours? theſe were all begun and inflamed by the falſe, malicious tongues of our ſervants. Are the ſecrets of our family betrayed, and evil repute ſpread of us? our ſervants were the authors. Do falſe accuſers riſe up againſt us? (an evil too frequent in this country) they have been tampering with our ſervants. Do our children diſcover folly, malice, pride, cruelty, revenge, undutifulneſs in their words and actions? are they ſeduced to lewd-

neſs or ſcandalous marriages? it is all by our ſervants. Nay, the very miſtakes, follies, blunders, and abſurdities of thoſe in our ſervice, are able to ruffle and diſcompoſe the mildeſt nature, and are often of ſuch conſequence, as to put whole families into confuſion.

Since therefore not only our domeſtic peace and quiet, and the welfare of our children, but even the very ſafety of our lives, reputations, and fortunes, have ſo great a dependence upon the choice of our ſervants, I think it would well become the wiſdom of the nation to make ſome proviſion in ſo important an affair. But in the mean time, and perhaps to better purpoſe, it were to be wiſhed, that the children of both ſexes, entertained in the pariſh charity-ſchools, were bred up in ſuch a manner, as would give them a teachable diſpoſition, and qualify them to learn whatever is required in any ſort of ſervice. For inſtance, they ſhould be taught to read and write, to know ſomewhat in caſting accounts, to underſtand the principles of religion, to practiſe cleanlineſs, to get a ſpirit of honeſty, induſtry, and thriſt, and be ſeverely puniſhed for every neglect in any of theſe particulars. For, it is the misfortune of mankind, that if they are not uſed to be taught in their early childhood, whereby to acquire what I call a teachable diſpoſition, they cannot, without great difficulty, learn the eaſieſt thing in the courſe of their lives, but are always aukward and unhandy; their minds, as well as bodies, for want of early practice, growing ſtiff and unmanageable; as we obſerve

obſerve in the ſort of gentlemen, who, kept fro ſchool by the indulgence of their parents but a fe years, are never able to recover the time they ha loſt, and grow up in ignorance and all manner vice, whereof we have too many examples all ov the nation. But to return to what I was ſayin if theſe charity-children were trained up in t manner I mentioned, and then bound apprentic in the families of gentlemen and citizens (f which a late law giveth great encouragement) b ing accuſtomed from their firſt entrance to be a ways learning ſome uſeful thing, they would lear in a month, more than another, without thoſe a vantages, can do in a year; and in the mean tim be very uſeful in a family, as far as their age a ſtrength would allow. And when ſuch childr come to years of diſcretion, they will probably b uſeful example to their fellow-ſervants, at leaſt th will prove a ſtrong check upon the reſt; for, I ſu poſe, every body will allow, that one good, hon diligent ſervant in a houſe, may prevent abunda of miſchief in the family.

Theſe are the reaſons for which I urge this m ter ſo ſtrongly, and I hope thoſe who liſten to will conſider them.

I ſhall now ſay ſomething about that great nu ber of poor, who, under the name of comm beggars, infeſt our ſtreets, and fill our ears w their continual cries, and craving importu This I ſhall venture to [illegible] unneceſſary brought upon us fro[illegible]neglect, and of proper management [illegible]oſe dut[illegible]

to prevent it. But, before I proceed farther, let me humbly preſume to vindicate the juſtice and mercy of God, and his dealings with mankind. Upon this particular he hath not dealt ſo hardly with his creatures as ſome would imagine, when they ſee ſo many miſerable objects ready to periſh for want: for, it would infallibly be found, upon ſtrict enquiry, that there is hardly one in twenty of thoſe miſerable objects, who do not owe their preſent poverty to their own faults, to their preſent ſloth and negligence, to their indiſcreet marriage without the leaſt proſpect of ſupporting a family, to their fooliſh expenſiveneſs, to their drunkenneſs, and other vices, by which they have ſquandered their gettings, and contracted diſeaſes in their old age. And to ſpeak freely, is it any way reaſonable or juſt, that thoſe who have denied themſelves many lawful ſatisfactions and conveniences of life, from a principle of conſcience as well as prudence, that they might not be a burden to the public, ſhould be charged with ſupporting others, who have brought themſelves to leſs than a morſel of bread, by their idleneſs, extravagance, and vice? Yet ſuch, and no other, are far the greateſt number not only of thoſe who beg in our ſtreets, but even of what we call poor decayed houſe-keepers, whom we are apt to pity as real objects of charity, and diſtinguiſh them from common beggars, although, in truth, they both owe their undoing to the ſame cauſes; only the former is either too nicely bred to endure walking half naked in the ſtreets, or too proud to own their wants. For the artificer or other tradeſ-

man,

man, who pleadeth he is grown too old to work or look after buſineſs, and therefore expecteth aſſiſtance as a decayed houſe-keeper; may we not aſk him, why he did not take care, in his youth and ſtrength of days, to make ſome proviſion againſt old age, when he ſaw ſo many examples before him of people undone by their idleneſs and vicious extravagance? and to go a little higher; whence cometh it that ſo many citizens and ſhop-keepers, of the moſt creditable trade, who once made a good figure, go to decay by their expenſive pride and vanity, affecting to educate and dreſs their children above their abilities, or the ſtate of life they ought to expect?

However, ſince the beſt of us have too many infirmities to anſwer for, we ought not to be ſevere upon thoſe of others; and therefore if our brother, through grief, or ſickneſs, or other incapacity, is not in a condition to preſerve his being, we ought to ſupport him to the beſt of our power, without reflecting over-ſeriouſly on the cauſes that brought him to his miſery. But in order to this, and to turn our charity into its proper channel, we ought to conſider who and where thoſe objects are, whom it is chiefly incumbent upon us to ſupport.

By the ancient law of this realm, ſtill in force, every pariſh is obliged to maintain its own poor; which although ſome may think to be not very equal, becauſe many pariſhes are very rich, and have few poor among them, and others the contrary; yet, I think, may be juſtly defended: for, as to remote country pariſhes in the deſart part of the

kingdom, the neceſſaries of life are there ſo cheap, that the infirm poor may be provided for with little burden to the inhabitants. But in what I am going to ſay, I ſhall confine myſelf only to this city; where we are over-run not only with our own poor, but with a far greater number from every part of the nation. Now, I ſay, this evil of being encumbered with ſo many foreign beggars, who have not the leaſt title to our charity, and whom it is impoſſible for us to ſupport, may be eaſily remedied, if the government of this city, in conjunction with the clergy and pariſh-officers, would think it worth their care; and I am ſure few things deſerve it better. For, if every pariſh would take a liſt of thoſe begging poor which properly belong to it, and compel each of them to wear a badge, marked and numbered, ſo as to be ſeen and known by all they meet, and confine them to beg within the limits of their own pariſh, ſeverely puniſhing them when they offend, and driving out all interlopers from other pariſhes, we could then make a computation of their numbers; and the ſtrolers from the country being driven away, the remainder would not be too many for the charity of thoſe who paſs by to maintain; neither would any beggar, although confined to his own pariſh, be hindered from receiving the charity of the whole town; becauſe, in this caſe, thoſe well-diſpoſed perſons who walk the ſtreets, will give their charity to ſuch whom they think proper objects, where-ever they meet them, provided they are found in their own pariſhes, and wearing their

badges of diſtinction. And, as to thoſe pariſhes which border upon the ſkirts and ſuburbs of the town, where country ſtrolers are uſed to harbour themſelves, they muſt be forced to go back to their homes, when they find no body to relieve them, becauſe they want that mark which only gives them licence to beg. Upon this point, it were to be wiſhed, that inferior pariſh-officers had better encouragement given them to perform their duty in driving away all beggars who do not belong to the pariſh, inſtead of conniving at them, as it is ſaid they do for ſome ſmall contribution; for the whole city would ſave much more by ridding themſelves of many hundred beggars, than they would loſe by giving pariſh-officers a reaſonable ſupport.

It ſhould ſeem a ſtrange, unnaccountable thing, that thoſe who have probably been reduced to want by riot, lewdneſs, and idleneſs, although they have aſſurance enough to beg alms publicly from all they meet, ſhould yet be too proud to wear the pariſh-badge, which would turn ſo much to their own advantage, by ridding them of ſuch great numbers, who now intercept the greateſt part of what belongeth to them: yet it is certain, that there are very many who publicly declare they will never wear thoſe badges, and many others who either hide or throw them away: but the remedy for this is very ſhort, eaſy, and juſt, by trying them like vagabonds and ſturdy beggars, and forcibly driving them out of the town.

Therefore, as ſoon as this expedient of wearing badges ſhall be put in practice, I do earneſtly exhort all thoſe who hear me, never to give their alms to any public beggar who doth not fully comply with this order; by which our number of poor will be ſo reduced, that it will be much eaſier to provide for the reſt. Our ſhop-doors will be no longer crowded with ſo many thieves and pick-pockets, in beggars habits, nor our ſtreets ſo dangerous to thoſe who are forced to walk in the night.

Thus I have, with great freedom, delivered my thoughts upon this ſubject, which ſo nearly concerneth us. It is certainly a bad ſcheme, to any Chriſtian country, which God hath bleſſed with fruitfulneſs, and where the people enjoy the juſt rights and privileges of mankind, that there ſhould be any beggars at all. But, alas! among us, where the whole nation itſelf is almoſt reduced to beggary, by the diſadvantages we lie under, and the hardſhips we are forced to bear; the lazineſs, ignorance, thoughtleſſneſs, ſquandering temper, ſlaviſh nature, and uncleanly manner of living in the poor popiſh natives, together with the cruel oppreſſions of their landlords, who delight to ſee their vaſſals in the duſt; I ſay, that in ſuch a nation, how can we otherwiſe expect than to be over-run with objects of miſery and want? Therefore, there can be no other method to free this city from ſo intolerable a grievance, than by endeavouring, as far as in us lies, that the burden may be more equally divided,

by

by contributing to maintain our own poor, and forcing the ſtrolers and vagabonds to return to their ſeveral homes in the country, there to ſmite the conſcience of thoſe oppreſſors who firſt ſtripped them of all their ſubſtance.

I might here, if the time would permit, offer many arguments to perſuade to works of charity; but you hear them ſo often from the pulpit, that I am willing to hope you may not now want them. Beſides, my preſent deſign was only to ſhew where your alms would be beſt beſtowed, to the honour of God, your own eaſe and advantage, the ſervice of your country, and the benefit of the poor. I deſire you will all weigh and conſider what I have ſpoken, and, according to your ſeveral ſtations and abilities, endeavour to put it in practice; and God give you good ſucceſs. To whom, with the Son and Holy Ghoſt, be all honour, &c.

The grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, &c.

A

SERMON

UPON

SLEEPING IN CHURCH.

ACTS, Chap. xx. Ver. 9.

And there ſat in the window a certain young man named EUTYCHUS, *being fallen into a deep ſleep; and while* PAUL *was long preaching, he ſunk down with ſleep, and fell down from the third loft, and was taken up dead.*

I HAVE choſen theſe words with deſign, if poſſible, to diſturb ſome part in this audience of half an hour's ſleep, for the convenience and exerciſe whereof this place, at this ſeaſon of the day, is very much celebrated.

There is indeed one mortal diſadvantage to which all preaching is ſubject; that thoſe, who, by the wickedneſs of their lives, ſtand in greateſt need, have uſually the ſmalleſt ſhare; for either they are abſent upon the account of idleneſs, or ſpleen, or hatred to religion, or in order to doze away the intemperance of the week; or, if they do come, they are ſure to employ their minds rather any other way, than regarding or attending to the buſineſs of the place.

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The accident which happened to this young man in the text, hath not been ſufficient to diſcourage his ſucceſſors: But, becauſe the preachers now in the world, however they may exceed St. Paul in the art of ſetting men to ſleep, do extremely fall ſhort of him in the working of miracles; therefore men are become ſo cautious, as to chooſe more ſafe and convenient ſtations and poſtures for taking their repoſe, without hazard of their perſons; and upon the whole matter, chooſe rather to truſt their deſtruction to a miracle, than their ſafety. However, this being not the only way by which the lukewarm Chriſtians and ſcorners of the age diſcover their neglect and contempt of preaching, I ſhall enter expreſsly into conſideration of this matter, and order my diſcourſe in the following method:

Firſt, I ſhall produce ſeveral inſtances to ſhew the great neglect of preaching now among us,

Secondly, I ſhall reckon up ſome of the uſual quarrels men have againſt preaching.

Thirdly, I ſhall ſet forth the great evil of this neglect and contempt of preaching, and diſcover the real cauſes whence it proceedeth.

Laſtly, I ſhall offer ſome remedies againſt this great and ſpreading evil.

Firſt,

First, I ſhall produce certain inſtances to ſh the great neglect of preaching now among us.

Theſe may be reduced under two heads. Fi men's abſence from the ſervice of the church; ſecondly, their miſbehaviour when they are her

The firſt inſtance of men's neglect, is in th frequent abſence from the church.

There is no excuſe ſo trivial, that will not p upon ſome men's conſciences to excuſe their tendance at the public worſhip of God. Some ſo unfortunate as to be always indiſpoſed on Lord's day, and think nothing ſo unwholeſome the air of a church. Others have their affairs oddly contrived, as to be always unluckily p vented by buſineſs. With ſome it is a great m of wit, and deep underſtanding, to ſtay at home Sundays. Others again diſcover ſtrange fits of zineſs, that ſeize them, particularly on that d and confine them to their beds. Others are abſ out of mere contempt of religion. And, laſt there are not a few who look upon it as a day reſt, and therefore claim the privilege of their caſ to keep the ſabbath by eating, drinking, and ſlee ing, after the toil and labour of the week. N in all this, the worſt circumſtance is, that th perſons are ſuch, whoſe companies are moſt quired, and who ſtand moſt in need of a ph ſician.

Secondly, Men's great neglect and contempt preaching appear by their miſbehaviour when church.

If the audience were to be ranked under ſeveral heads, according to their behaviour when the word of God is delivered, how ſmall a number would appear of thoſe who receive it as they ought? How much of the ſeed then ſown would be found to fall by the way ſide, upon ſtony ground or among thorns? and how little good ground would there be to take it? A preacher cannot look round from the pulpit, without obſerving, that ſome are in a perpetual whiſper, and by their air and geſture, give occaſion to ſuſpect that they are in thoſe very minutes defaming their neighbour. Others, have their eyes and imagination conſtantly engaged in ſuch a circle of objects, perhaps to gratify the moſt unwarrantable deſires, that they never once attend to the buſineſs of the place; the ſound of the preacher's words do not ſo much as once interrupt them. Some have their minds wandering among idle, worldly, or vicious thoughts. Some lie at catch to ridicule whatever they hear, and with much wit and humour provide a ſtock of laughter, by furniſhing themſelves from the pulpit. But, of all miſbehaviour, none is comparable to that of thoſe who come here to ſleep; opium is not ſo ſtupifying to many perſons as an afternoon ſermon. Perpetual cuſtom hath ſo brought it about, that the words, of whatever preacher, become only a ſort of uniform ſound at a diſtance, than which nothing is more effectual to lull the ſenſes. For that it is the very ſound of the ſermon which bindeth up their faculties, is manifeſt from hence, becauſe they all awake ſo very regularly as ſoon as it ceaſeth,

and with much devotion receive the bleſſin dozed and beſotted with indecencies I am aſhame to repeat.

I proceed, Secondly, to reckon up ſome of th uſual quarrels men have againſt preaching, and t ſhew the unreaſonableneſs of them.

Such unwarrantable demeanor as I have de ſcribed, among Chriſtians, in the houſe of God, i a ſolemn aſſembly, while their faith and duty a explained and delivered, have put thoſe who a guilty, upon inventing ſome excuſes to extenua their fault: This they do by turning the blan either upon the particular preacher, or upon preac ing in general. Firſt, they object againſt the pa ticular preacher; his manner, his delivery, h voice are diſagreeable; his ſtyle and expreſſion a flat and low; ſometimes improper and abſurd; th matter is heavy, trivial, and inſipid; ſometim deſpicable, and perfectly ridiculous; or elſe, the other ſide, he runs up into unintelligible ſpecu lation, empty notions, and abſtracted flights, clad in words above uſual underſtandings.

Secondly, They object againſt preaching in g neral; it is a perfect road of talk; they know a ready whatever can be ſaid; they have heard t ſame a hundred times over. They quarrel th preachers do not relieve an old beaten ſubject wi wit and invention; and that now the art is loſt moving men's paſſions, ſo common among the a cient orators of Greece and Rome. Theſe, a the like objections, are frequently in the mouths

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men who deſpiſe the fooliſhneſs of preaching. But let us examine the reaſonableneſs of them.

The doctrine delivered by all preachers is the ſame: "So we preach, and ſo ye believe:" But the manner of delivering is ſuited to the ſkill and abilities of each, which differ in preachers, juſt as in the reſt of mankind. However, in perſonal diſlikes of a particular preacher, are theſe men ſure they are always in the right? do they conſider how mixed a thing is every audience, whoſe taſte and judgment differ, perhaps, every day, not only from each other, but themſelves? and how to calculate a diſcourſe that ſhall exactly ſuit them all, is beyond the force and reach of human reaſon, knowledge, or invention. Wit and eloquence are ſhining qualities, that God hath imparted, in great degrees, to very few; nor any more to be expected, in the generality of any rank among men, than riches and honour. But farther: If preaching in general be all old and beaten, and that they are already ſo well acquainted with it, more ſhame and guilt to them who ſo little edify by it. But, theſe men, whoſe ears are ſo delicate as not to endure a plain diſcourſe of religion, who expect a conſtant ſupply of wit and eloquence on a ſubject handled ſo many thouſand times; what will they ſay when we turn the objection upon themſelves, who with all the lewd and prophane liberty of diſcourſe they take, upon ſo many thouſand ſubjects, are ſo dull as to furniſh nothing but tedious repetitions, and little paultry, nauſeous common-places, ſo vulgar, ſo worn, or ſo obvious,

as,

as, upon any other occaſion, but that of advan
vice, would be hooted off the ſtage? Nor, la
are preachers juſtly blamed for neglecting hu
oratory to move the paſſions, which is not the
ſineſs of a Chriſtian orator, whoſe office it is
to work upon faith and reaſon. All other
quence hath been a perfect cheat, to ſtir up m
paſſions againſt truth and juſtice, for the ſervic
a faction; to put falſe colours upon things, an
an amuſement of agreeable words, make the w
reaſon appear to be the better. This is certa
not to be allowed in Chriſtian eloquence,
therefore, St. Paul took quite the other cou
he "came not with excellency of words, or
"ticing ſpeech of men's wiſdom, but in plain
"dence of the ſpirit and power." And perha
was for that reaſon, the young man Eutyc
uſed to the Grecian eloquence, grew tired, and
ſo faſt aſleep.

I go on, Thirdly, to ſet forth the great evi
this neglect and ſcorn of preaching, and to diſc
the real cauſes whence it proceedeth.

I think it is obvious, that this neglect
preaching hath very much occaſioned the g
decay of religion among us. To this may be
puted no ſmall part of that contempt ſome
beſtow on the clergy; for, whoever talketh with
being regarded, is ſure to be deſpiſed. To this
owe, in a great meaſure, the ſpreading of athe
and infidelity among us; for, religion, like
other things, is ſooneſt put out of countenance

be

being ridiculed. The ſcorn of preaching might perhaps have been at firſt introduced by men of nice ears and refined taſte; but it is now become a ſpreading evil, through all degrees, and both ſexes; for, ſince ſleeping, talking, and laughing, are qualities ſufficient to furniſh out a critick, the meaneſt and moſt ignorant have ſet up a title, and ſucceeded in it as well as their betters. Thus are the laſt efforts of reforming mankind rendered wholely uſeleſs: "How ſhall they hear," ſaith the apoſtle, "without a preacher?" But, if they have a preacher, and make it a point of wit or breeding, not to hear him, what remedy is left? To this neglect of preaching, we may alſo entirely impute that groſs ignorance among us in the very principles of religion, which it is amazing to find in perſons who very much value their own knowledge and underſtanding in other things; yet it is a viſible, inexcuſable ignorance, even in the meaneſt among us, conſidering the many advantages they have of learning their duty. And it hath been the great encouragement to all manner of vice: For, in vain we preach down ſin to a people, "whoſe hearts are "waxed groſs, whoſe ears are dull of hearing, "and whoſe eyes are cloſed." Therefore Chriſt himſelf, in his diſcourſes, frequently rouſeth up the attention of the multitude, and of his diſciples themſelves, with this expreſſion, "He that hath "ears to hear, let him hear." But, among all neglects of preaching, none is ſo fatal as that of ſleeping in the houſe of God; a ſcorner may liſten

to truth and reaſon, and in time grow ſerious; an unbeliever may feel the pangs of a guilty conſcience; one whoſe thoughts or eyes wander among other objects, may, by a lucky word, be called back to attention: But the ſleeper ſhuts up all avenues to his ſoul: He is "like the deaf adder, that "hearkeneth not to the voice of the charmer, charm "he never ſo wiſely." And we may preach with as good ſucceſs to the grave that is under his feet.

But the great evil of this neglect will farther yet appear, from conſidering the real cauſes whence it proceedeth; whereof, the firſt, I take to be an evil conſcience. Many men come to church to ſave or gain a reputation, or becauſe they will not be ſingular, but comply with an eſtabliſhed cuſtom; yet, all the while, they are loaded with the guilt of old rooted ſins. Theſe men can expect to hear of nothing but terrors and threatenings, their ſins laid open in true colours, and eternal miſery the reward of them; therefore, no wonder they ſtop their ears, and divert their thoughts, and ſeek any amuſement rather than ſtir the hell within them.

Another cauſe of this neglect is, a heart ſet upon worldly things. Men whoſe minds are much enſlaved to earthly affairs all the week, cannot diſengage or break the chain of their thoughts ſo ſuddenly, as to apply to a diſcourſe that is wholly foreign to what they have moſt at heart. Tell a uſurer of charity, and mercy, and reſtitution, you talk

talk to the deaf; his heart and ſoul, with all his ſenſes, are got among his bags, or he is gravely aſleep, and dreaming of a mortgage. Tell a man of buſineſs, that the cares of the world choak the good ſeed; that we muſt not encumber ourſelves with much ſerving; that the ſalvation of his ſoul is the one thing neceſſary: You ſee, indeed, the ſhape of a man before you, but his faculties are all gone off among clients and papers, thinking how to defend a bad cauſe, or find flaws in a good one; or he weareth out the time in drowſy nods.

A third cauſe of the great neglect and ſcorn of preaching, ariſeth from the practice of men who ſet up to decry and diſparage religion; theſe, being zealous to promote infidelity and vice, learn a rote of buffoonry, that ſerveth all occaſions, and refutes the ſtrongeſt arguments for piety and good-manners. Theſe have a ſet of ridicule calculated for all ſermons, and all preachers, and can be extremely witty as often as they pleaſe upon the ſame fund.

Let me now, in the laſt place, offer ſome remedies againſt this great evil.

It will be one remedy againſt the contempt of preaching, rightly to conſider the end for which it was deſigned. There are many who place abundance of merit in going to church, although it be with no other proſpect but that of being well entertained, wherein if they happen to fail, they return wholly diſappointed. Hence it is become an impertinent vein among people of all ſorts to

hunt after what they call a good ſermon, as if it were a matter of paſtime and diverſion. Our buſineſs, alas! is quite another thing, either to learn, or, at leaſt, be reminded of our duty; to apply the doctrines delivered, compare the rules we hear, with our lives and actions, and find wherein we have tranſgreſſed. Theſe are the diſpoſitions men ſhould bring into the houſe of God, and then they will be little concerned about the preacher's wit or eloquence, nor be curious to enquire out his faults or infirmities, but conſider how to correct their own.

Another remedy againſt the contempt of preaching is, that men would conſider, whether it be not reaſonable to give more allowance for the different abilities of preachers, than they uſually do; refinements of ſtile, and flights of wit, as they are not properly the buſineſs of any preacher, ſo they cannot poſſibly be the talents of all. In moſt other diſcourſes, men are ſatisfied with ſober ſenſe and plain reaſon; and, as underſtandings uſually go, even that is not over frequent. Then why they ſhould be ſo over nice in expectation of eloquence, where it is neither neceſſary or convenient, is hard to imagine.

Laſtly, The ſcorners of preaching would do well to conſider, that this talent of ridicule, they value ſo much, is a perfection very eaſily acquired, and applied to all things whatſoever; neither is any thing at all the worſe, becauſe it is capable of being

ing perverted to burleſque: Perhaps it may be the more perfect upon that ſcore; ſince we know, the moſt celebrated pieces have been thus treated with greateſt ſucceſs. It is in any man's power to ſuppoſe a fool's cap on the wiſeſt head, and then laugh at his own ſuppoſition. I think there are not many things cheaper than ſuppoſing and laughing; and if the uniting theſe two talents can bring a thing into contempt, it is hard to know where it may end.

To conclude. Theſe conſiderations may, perhaps, have ſome effect while men are awake; but what arguments ſhall we uſe to the ſleeper? what methods ſhall we take to hold open his eyes? will he be moved by conſiderations of common civility? We know it is reckoned a point of very bad manners to ſleep in private company, when, perhaps, the tedious impertinence of many talkers would render it at leaſt as excuſable as at the dulleſt ſermon. Do they think it a ſmall thing to watch four hours at a play, where all virtue and religion are openly reviled; and can they not watch one half hour to hear them defended? is this to deal like a judge (I mean like a good judge) to liſten on one ſide of the cauſe, and ſleep on the other? I ſhall add but one word more: That this indecent ſloth is very much owing to that luxury and exceſs men uſually practiſe upon this day, by which half the ſervice thereof is turned to ſin; men dividing the time between God and their

bellies, when, after a gluttonous meal, their ſenſes dozed and ſtupified, they retire to God's houſe to ſleep out the afternoon. Surely, brethren, theſe things ought not ſo to be.

" He that hath ears to hear, let him hear. And
" God give us all grace to hear and receive his
" holy word to the ſalvation of our own ſouls,

A

SERMON.

1 Cor. iii. 19.

The wiſdom of this world is fooliſhneſs with God.

IT is remarkable, that about the time of our Saviour's coming into the world, all kinds of learning flouriſhed to a very great degree; inſomuch that nothing is more frequent in the mouths of many men, even ſuch who pretend to read and to know, than an extravagant praiſe and opinion of the wiſdom and virtue of the Gentile ſages of thoſe days, and likewiſe of thoſe ancient philoſophers who went before them, whoſe doctrines are left upon record, either by themſelves, or other writers. As far as this may be taken for granted, it may be ſaid, that the Providence of God brought this about for ſeveral very wiſe ends and purpoſes: for it is certain, that theſe philoſophers had been a long time before, ſearching out where to fix the true happineſs of man; and not being able to agree upon any certainty about it, they could not poſſibly but conclude, if they judged impartially, that all their inquiries were, in the end, but vain and fruitleſs: the conſequence of which muſt be, not only an acknowledgement of the weakneſs of all human wiſdom, but likewiſe an open paſſage hereby made, for letting in thoſe

beams of light, which the glorious ſunſhine Goſpel then brought into the world, by re thoſe hidden truths, which they had ſo long been labouring to diſcover, and fixing the happineſs of mankind, beyond all controve diſpute. And therefore, the Providence o wiſely ſuffered men of deep genius and le then to ariſe, who ſhould ſearch into the t the Goſpel now made known, and canvaſs i trines with all the ſubtilty and knowledg were maſters of, and in the end freely ac ledge, that to be the true wiſdom only, " " cometh from above."

However, to make a farther inquiry ir truth of this obſervation, I doubt not but reaſon to think, that a great many of thoſe miums given to ancient philoſophers, are upon truſt, and by a ſort of men, who are n likely to be at the pains of an inquiry, that employ ſo much time and thinking. F uſual ends why men affect this kind of di appear generally to be either out of oſte that they may paſs upon the world for per great knowledge and obſervation; or, v worſe, there are ſome who highly exalt tl dom of thoſe Gentile ſages, thereby obliq glance at, and traduce Divine Revelation, an eſpecially that of the Goſpel; for the conſe they would have us draw, is this: That ſinc ancient philoſophers roſe to a greater pitch dom and virtue, than was ever known Chriſtians, and all this purely upon the ſtre

their own reaſon, and liberty of thinking, therefore it muſt follow, that either all Revelation is falſe, or, what is worſe, that it has depraved the nature of man, and left him worſe than it found him.

But this high opinion of Heathen wiſdom, is not very ancient in the world, nor at all countenanced from primitive times. Our Saviour had but a low eſteem of it, as appears by his treatment of the Phariſees and Saducees, who followed the doctrines of Plato and Epicurus. St. Paul likewiſe, who was well verſed in all the Grecian literature, ſeems very much to deſpiſe their philoſophy, as we find in his writings; cautioning the Coloſſians to "beware leſt any man ſpoil them through philo-"ſophy and vain deceit." And in another place, he adviſes Timothy to "avoid prophane and vain "babblings, and oppoſitions of ſcience falſely ſo "called;" that is, not to introduce into the Chriſtian doctrine the janglings of thoſe vain philoſophers, which they would paſs upon the world for ſcience. And the reaſons he gives are, firſt, That thoſe who profeſſed them did err concerning the faith: ſecondly, Becauſe the knowledge of them did encreaſe ungodlineſs, vain babblings, being otherwiſe expounded vanities, or empty ſounds; that is, tedious diſputes about words, which the philoſophers were always ſo full of, and which were the natural product of diſputes and diſſentions between ſeveral ſects.

Neither had the primitive Fathers any great or good opinion of the Heathen philoſophy, as it is manifeſt

manifeſt from ſeveral paſſages in their writi
that this vein of affecting to raiſe the reput
thoſe ſages ſo high, is a mode and a vice
yeſterday, aſſumed chiefly, as I have ſaid,
parage revealed knowledge, and the conſe
of it among us.

Now, becauſe this is a prejudice which n
vail with ſome perſons, ſo far as to leſſen
fluence of the Goſpel; and whereas, th
this is an opinion which men of educat
likely to be encountered with, when the
produced themſelves into the world; I ſhall
vour to ſhew that their preference of Heatl
dom and virtue, before that of the Chri
every way unjuſt, and grounded upon ig
or miſtake: in order to which, I ſhall
four things.

Firſt, I ſhall produce certain points,
the wiſdom and virtue of all unrevealed ph
in general fell ſhort, and was very imperfe

Secondly, I ſhall ſhew, in ſeveral i
where ſome of the moſt renowned phil
have been groſsly defective in their leſſons
rality.

Thirdly, I ſhall prove the perfection of
wiſdom, from the proper characters and n
it.

Laſtly, I ſhall ſhew that the great exa
wiſdom and virtue, among the Heathen w
were produced by perſonal merit, and
fluenced by the doctrine of any ſect; wh
Chriſtianity, it is quite the contrary.

Firſt, I ſhall produce certain points, wherein the wiſdom and virtue of all unrevealed philoſophy, in general fell ſhort, and was very imperfect.

My deſign is, to perſuade men, that Chriſtian philoſophy is in all things preferable to Heathen wiſdom; from which, or its profeſſors, I ſhall however have no occaſion to detract. They were as wiſe, and as good, as it was poſſible for them to be under ſuch diſadvantages, and would have probably been infinitely more ſo, with ſuch aids as we enjoy: but our leſſons are certainly much better, however our practices may fall ſhort.

The firſt point I ſhall mention, is, that univerſal defect which was in all their ſchemes, that they could not agree about their chief good, or wherein to place the happineſs of mankind; nor had any of them a tolerable anſwer upon this difficulty, to ſatisfy a reaſonable perſon. For, to ſay, as the moſt plauſible of them did, "that happineſs conſiſted in virtue," was but vain babbling, and a mere ſound of words, to amuſe others and themſelves; becauſe they were not agreed what this virtue was, or wherein it did conſiſt; and likewiſe, becauſe ſeveral among the beſt of them taught quite different things, placing happineſs in health or good fortune, in riches or in honour, where all were agreed that virtue was not, as I ſhall have occaſion to ſhew, when I ſpeak of their particular tenets.

The ſecond great defect in the Gentile philoſophy, was, that it wanted ſome ſuitable reward, proportioned to the better part of man, his mind,

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and fruitleſs, which indeed it was, upon un
vealed principles; and thoſe who ventured to
gage too far, fell into incoherence and confuſio

Fourthly, Thoſe among them who had the juſ
conceptions of a Divine power, and did alſo ad
a Providence, had no notion at all of entirely
lying and depending upon either; they truſted
themſelves for all things: but, as for a truſt or
pendance upon God, they would not have und
ſtood the phraſe; it made no part of the proph
ſtyle.

Therefore it was, that in all iſſues and eve
which they could not reconcile to their own ſe
ments of reaſon and juſtice, they were quite
concerted: they had no retreat; but, upon ev
blow of adverſe fortune, either affected to be
different, or grew ſullen and ſevere, or elſe yiel
and ſunk like other men.

Having now produced certain points, whe
the wiſdom and virtue of all unrevealed philoſo
fell ſhort, and was very imperfect; I go on,
the ſecond place, to ſhew, in ſeveral inſtan
where ſome of the moſt renowned philoſopl
have been groſsly defective in their leſſons of
rality.

Thales, the founder of the Ionic ſect, ſo c
brated for morality, being aſked how a man m
bear ill-fortune with greateſt eaſe, anſwered, "
" ſeeing his enemies in a worſe condition."
anſwer truly barbarous, unworthy of human
ture, and which included ſuch conſequences
muſt deſtroy all ſociety from the world.

Solon lamenting the death of a ſon, one told him, "You lament in vain." "Therefore (ſaid "he) I lament, becauſe it is in vain." This was a plain confeſſion how imperfect all his philoſophy was, and that ſomething was ſtill wanting. He owned that all his wiſdom and morals were uſeleſs, and this upon one of the moſt frequent accidents in life. How much better could he have learned to ſupport himſelf even from David, by his entire dependence upon God; and that, before our Saviour had advanced the notions of religion, to the height and perfection, wherewith he hath inſtructed his diſciples!

Plato himſelf, with all his refinements, placed happineſs in wiſdom, health, good-fortune, honour, and riches; and held that they who enjoyed all theſe were perfectly happy: which opinion was indeed unworthy its owner, leaving the wiſe and good man, wholly at the mercy of uncertain chance, and to be miſerable without reſource.

His ſcholar Ariſtotle fell more groſsly into the ſame notion, and plainly affirmed: "That virtue, "without the goods of fortune, was not ſufficient "for happineſs, but that a wiſe man muſt be mi-"ſerable in poverty and ſickneſs." Nay, Diogenes himſelf from whole pride and ſingularity one would have looked for other notions, delivered it as his opinion, "That a poor old man was the moſt "miſerable thing in life."

Zeno alſo and his followers fell into many abſurdities, among which nothing could be greater than

than that of maintaining all crimes to be equal; which, inſtead of making vice hateful, rendered it as a thing indifferent and familiar to all men.

Laſtly, Epicurus had no notion of juſtice, but as it was profitable; and his placing happineſs in pleaſure, with all the advantages he could expound it by, was liable to very great exception: for, although he taught that pleaſure did conſiſt in virtue, yet he did not any way fix or aſcertain the boundaries of virtue, as he ought to have done by which means he miſled his followers into the greateſt vices, making their names to become odious and ſcandalous, even in the Heathen world.

I have produced theſe few inſtances from a great many others, to ſhew the imperfection of Heathen philoſophy, wherein I have confined myſelf wholly to their morality. And ſurely we may pronounce upon it in the words of St. James, that "This "wiſdom deſcended not from above, but was "earthly and ſenſual." What if I had produced their abſurd notions about God and the ſoul? It would then have completed the character given it by that Apoſtle, and appeared to have been deviliſh too. But it is eaſy to obſerve, from the nature of theſe few particulars, that their defects in morals were purely the flagging and fainting of the mind for want of a ſupport by revelation from God.

I proceed, therefore, in the third place, to ſhew the perfection of Chriſtian wiſdom from above; and I ſhall endeavour to make it appear, from thoſe proper characters and marks of it, by the Apoſtle

Apoſtle beforementioned, in the third chapter, and 15th, 16th, and 17th verſes.

The words run thus:

" This wiſdom deſcendeth not from above; but " is earthly, ſenſual, deviliſh.

" For where envying and ſtrife is, there is con- " fuſion, and every evil work.

" But the wiſdom that is from above, is firſt " pure, then peaceable, gentle, and eaſy to be en- " treated, full of mercy and good fruits, without " partiality, and without hypocriſy."

" The wiſdom from above is firſt pure." This purity of the mind and ſpirit is peculiar to the Goſpel. Our Saviour ſays, " Bleſſed are the pure " in heart, for they ſhall ſee God." A mind free from all pollution of luſts ſhall have a daily viſion of God, whereof unrevealed religion can form no notion. This is it that keeps us unſpotted from the world; and hereby many have been prevailed upon to live in the practice of all purity, holineſs, and righteouſneſs, far beyond the examples of the moſt celebrated philoſophers.

It is " peaceable, gentle, and eaſy to be en- " treated." The Chriſtian doctrine teacheth us all thoſe diſpoſitions that make us affable and courteous, gentle and kind, without any moroſe leaven of pride or vanity, which entered into the compoſition of moſt Heathen ſchemes: ſo we are taught to be meek and lowly. Our Saviour's laſt legacy was Peace; and he commands us to forgive our offending brother unto ſeventy times ſeven. Chriſtian wiſdom is full of mercy and good works,

teaching the height of all moral virtues, of which the Heathens fall infinitely ſhort. Plato indeed (and it is worth obſerving) has ſomewhere a dialogue, or part of one, about forgiving our enemies, which was perhaps the higheſt ſtrain ever reached by man, without divine aſſiſtance; yet how little is that to what our Saviour commands us! "To "love them that hate us; to bleſs them that curſe "us; and to do good to them that deſpitefully "uſe us."

Chriſtian wiſdom is without partiality; it is not calculated for this or that nation or people, but the whole race of mankind: not ſo the philoſophical ſchemes, which were narrow and confined, adapted to their peculiar towns, governments, or ſects; but, "in every nation, he that feareth God, and "worketh righteouſneſs, is accepted with him."

Laſtly, It is without hypocriſy: it appears to be what it really is; it is all of a piece. By the doctrines of the Goſpel, we are ſo far from being allowed to publiſh to the world thoſe virtues we have not, that we are commanded to hide even from ourſelves thoſe we really have, and not to let our right hand know what our left hand does; unlike ſeveral branches of the Heathen wiſdom, which pretended to teach inſenſibility and indifference, magnanimity and contempt of life, while, at the ſame time, in other parts, it belied its own doctrines.

I come now, in the laſt place, to ſhew that the great examples of wiſdom and virtue, among the Grecian ſages, were produced by perſonal merit,

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and not influenced by the doctrine of any particular ſect; whereas, in Chriſtianity, it is quite the contrary.

The two virtues moſt celebrated by antient moraliſts, were, Fortitude and Temperance, as relating to the government of man in his private capacity, to which their ſchemes were generally addreſſed and confined; and the two inſtances wherein thoſe virtues arrived at the greateſt height, were Socrates and Cato. But neither thoſe, nor any other virtues poſſeſſed by theſe two, were at all owing to any leſſons or doctrines of a ſect. For Socrates himſelf was of none at all: and although Cato was called a Stoic, it was more from a reſemblance of manners in his worſt qualities, than that he avowed himſelf one of their diſciples. The ſame may be affirmed of many other great men of antiquity. Whence I infer, that thoſe who were renowned for virtue among them, were more obliged to the good natural diſpoſitions of their own minds, than to the doctrines of any ſect they pretended to follow.

On the other ſide, as the examples of fortitude and patience among the primitive Chriſtians, have been infinitely greater and more numerous, ſo they were altogether the product of their principles and doctrine; and were ſuch as the ſame perſons, without thoſe aids, would never have arrived to. Of this truth moſt of the apoſtles, with many thouſand martyrs, are a cloud of witneſſes beyond exception. Having therefore ſpoken ſo largely upon

the former heads, I ſhall dwell no longer upon this.

And, if it ſhould here be objected, Why does not Chriſtianity ſtill produce the ſame effects? it is eaſy to anſwer, Firſt, That although the number of pretended Chriſtians be great, yet that of true believers, in proportion to the other, was never ſo ſmall; and it is a true lively faith alone, that, by the aſſiſtance of God's grace, can influence our practice.

Secondly, We may anſwer, that Chriſtianity itſelf has very much ſuffered, by being blended up with Gentile philoſophy. The Platonic ſyſtem firſt taken into religion, was thought to have given matter for ſome early hereſies in the church When diſputes began to ariſe, the Peripatetic forms were introduced by Scotus, as beſt fitted for controverſy. And, however this may now have become neceſſary, it was ſurely the author of a litigious vein, which has ſince occaſioned very pernicious conſequences, ſtopt the progreſs of Chriſtianity, and been a great promoter of vice, verifying that ſentence given by St. James, and mentioned before, "Where envying and ſtrife is, there "is confuſion, and every evil work." This was the fatal ſtop to the Grecians, in their progreſs both of arts and arms: their wiſe men were divided under ſeveral ſects, and their governments under ſeveral commonwealths, all in oppoſition to each other; which engaged them in eternal quarrels among themſelves, while they ſhould have been armed againſt the common enemy. And I wiſh

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we had no other examples, from the like cauſes, leſs foreign or antient than that. Diogenes ſaid, Socrates was a madman; the diſciples of Zeno and Epicurus, nay of Plato and Ariſtotle, were engaged in fierce diſputes about the moſt inſignificant trifles. And if this be the preſent language and practice among us Chriſtians, no wonder that Chriſtianity does not ſtill produce the ſame effects which it did at firſt, when it was received and embraced in its utmoſt purity and perfection: for ſuch a wiſdom as this cannot "deſcend from above;" but muſt be "earthly, ſenſual, deviliſh; full of confuſion and "every evil work;" whereas "the wiſdom from "above, is firſt pure, then peaceable, gentle, and "eaſy to be entreated, full of mercy and good "fruits, without partiality, and without hypo-"criſy." This is the true heavenly wiſdom, which Chriſtianity only can boaſt of, and which the greateſt of the Heathen wiſe men could never arrive at.

Now to God the Father, &c. &c.

DOING GOOD:

A

SERMON,

ON THE

OCCASION OF WOOD'S PROJECT

Written in MDCCXXIV.

GALATIANS vi. 10.

As we have therefore opportunity, let us do good unto men.

NATURE directs every one of us, and G permits us, to conſult our own private goo before the private good of any other perſon wha ſoever. We are, indeed, commanded to love o neighbour as ourſelves, but not as well as ourſelv The love we have for ourſelves, is to be the pa tern of that love we ought to have towards o neighbour; but, as the copy doth not equal t original, ſo my neighbour cannot think it hard, I prefer myſelf, who am the original, before hi who is only the copy. Thus, if any matter equal concern the life, the reputation, the profit of n neighbour, and my own; the law of nature, whi is the law of God, obligeth me to take care of m ſelf firſt, and afterwards of him. And this I ne

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not be at much pains in perſuading you to; for the want of ſelf-love, with regard to things of this world, is not among the faults of mankind. But then, on the other ſide, if, by a ſmall hurt and loſs to myſelf, I can procure a great good to my neighbour, in that caſe his intereſt is to be preferred. For example, if I can be ſure of ſaving his life, without great danger to my own; if I can preſerve him from being undone, without ruining myſelf; or recover his reputation, without blaſting mine; all this I am obliged to do: and, if I ſincerely perform it, I do then obey the command of God, in loving my neighbour as myſelf.

But, beſide this love we owe to every man in his particular capacity under the title of our neighbour, there is yet a duty of a more large extenſive nature incumbent on us; which is, our love to our neighbour in his public capacity, as he is a member of that great body the commonwealth, under the ſame government with ourſelves; and this is uſually called love of the publick, and is a duty to which we are more ſtrictly obliged than even that of loving ourſelves; becauſe therein ourſelves are alſo contained, as well as all our neighbours, in one great body. This love of the publick, or of the commonwealth, or love of our country, was in ancient times properly known by the name of virtue, becauſe it was the greateſt of all virtues, and was ſuppoſed to contain all virtues in it: and many great examples of this virtue are left to us on record, ſcarcely to be believed, or even con-

ceived, in ſuch a baſe, corrupted, wicked age as this we live in. In thoſe times, it was common for men to ſacrifice their lives for the good of their country, although they had neither hope nor belief of future rewards; whereas, in our days, very few make the leaſt ſcruple of ſacrificing a whole nation, as well as their own ſouls, for a little preſent gain; which often hath been known to end in their own ruin in this world, as it certainly muſt in that to come.

Have we not ſeen men, for the ſake of ſome petty employment, give up the very natural rights and liberties of their country, and of mankind, in the ruin of which themſelves muſt at laſt be involved! Are not theſe corruptions gotten among the meaneſt of our people, who, for a piece of money, will give their votes at a venture, for the diſpoſal of their own lives and fortunes, without conſidering whether it be to thoſe who are moſt likely to betray or defend them? But, if I were to produce only one inſtance of a hundred, wherein we fail in this duty of loving our country, it would be an endleſs labour; and therefore I ſhall not attempt it.

But here I would not be miſunderſtood: by the love of our country, I do not mean loyalty to our king, for that is a duty of another nature; and a man may be very loyal, in the common ſenſe of the word, without one grain of public good at his heart. Witneſs this very kingdom we live in. I verily believe, that ſince the beginning of the world,

world, no nation upon earth ever ſhewed (all circumſtances conſidered) ſuch high conſtant marks of loyalty, in all their actions and behaviour, as we have done: and at the ſame time, no people ever appeared more utterly void of what is called a Public Spirit. When I ſay the people, I mean the bulk or maſs of the people; for I have nothing to do with thoſe in power.

Therefore I ſhall think my time not ill ſpent, if I can perſuade moſt or all of you who hear me, to ſhew the love you have for your country, by endeavouring, in your ſeveral ſtations, to do all the public good you are able. For I am certainly perſuaded, that all our misfortunes ariſe from no other original cauſe, than that general diſregard among us to the public welfare.

I therefore undertake to ſhew you three things:

Firſt, That there are few people ſo weak or mean, who have it not ſometimes in their power to be uſeful to the publick.

Secondly, That it is often in the power of the meaneſt among mankind to do miſchief to the publick.

And, laſtly, That all wilful injuries done to the publick, are very great and aggravated ſins in the ſight of God.

Firſt, There are few people ſo weak or mean, who have it not ſometimes in their power to be uſeful to the publick.

Solomon

Solomon tells us of a poor wiſe man, who ſav
a city by his counſel. It hath often happened th
a private ſoldier, by ſome unexpected brave a
tempt, hath been inſtrumental in obtaining a gre
victory. How many obſcure men have been a
thors of very uſeful inventions, whereof the wor
now reaps the benefit! The very example of h
neſty and induſtry in a poor tradeſman, will ſom
times ſpread through a neighbourhood, when othe
ſee how ſucceſsful he is; and thus ſo many uſef
members are gained, for which the whole body
the publick is the better. Whoever is bleſſed wi
a true public ſpirit, God will certainly put it in
his way to make uſe of that bleſſing, for the en
it was given him, by ſome means or other: a
therefore it hath been obſerved, in moſt ages, th
the greateſt actions for the benefit of the commo
wealth, have been performed by the wiſdom
courage, the contrivance or induſtry, of particul
men, and not of numbers; and that the ſafety
a kingdom hath often been owing to thoſe hanc
whence it was leaſt expected.

But, ſecondly, It is often in the power of t
meaneſt among mankind to do miſchief to the pu
lick: and hence ariſe moſt of thoſe miſeries wi
which the ſtates and kingdoms of the earth are i
feſted. How many great princes have been mu
dered by the meaneſt ruffians! The weakeſt ha
can open a flood-gate to drown a country, whi
a thouſand of the ſtrongeſt cannot ſtop. Tho
who have thrown off all regard for public goo
will often have it in their way to do public ev

and will not fail to exerciſe that power whenever they can. The greateſt blow given of late to this kingdom, was by the diſhoneſty of a few manufacturers; who, by impoſing bad ware at foreign markets, in almoſt the only traffick permitted to us, did half ruin that trade; by which this poor unhappy kingdom now ſuffers in the midſt of ſufferings. I ſpeak not here of perſons in high ſtations, who ought to be free from all reflection, and are ſuppoſed always to intend the welfare of the community: but we now find by experience, that the meaneſt inſtrument may, by the concurrence of accidents, have it in his power to bring a whole kingdom to the very brink of deſtruction, and is at this preſent endeavouring to finiſh his work; and hath agents among ourſelves, who are contented to ſee their own country undone, to be ſmall ſharers in that iniquitous gain, which at laſt muſt end in their own ruin, as well as ours. I confeſs, it was chiefly the conſideration of that great danger we are in, which engaged me to diſcourſe to you on this ſubject, to exhort you to a love of your country, and a public ſpirit, when all you have is at ſtake; to prefer the intereſt of your prince and your fellow ſubjects, before that of one deſtructive impoſtor, and a few of his adherents.

Perhaps it may be thought by ſome, that this way of diſcourſing is not ſo proper from the pulpit. But ſurely, when an open attempt is made, and far carried on, to make a great kingdom one large poor-houſe, to deprive us of all means to exerciſe hoſpitality or charity, to turn our cities and churches

churches into ruins, to make the country a defe for wild beaſts and robbers, to deſtroy all arts an ſciences, all trades and manufactures, and the ver tillage of the ground, only to enrich one obſcur ill-deſigning projector and his followers; it is tim for the paſtor to cry out, "that the wolf is gettin "into his flock," to warn them to ſtand togethe and all to conſult the common ſafety. And Go be praiſed for his infinite goodneſs, in raiſing ſuc a ſpirit of union among us, at leaſt in this point in the midſt of all our former diviſions; whic union, if it continue, will, in all probability, de feat the pernicious deſign of this peſtilent enem to the nation!

But hence, it clearly follows how neceſſary th love of our country, or a public ſpirit, is, in ever particular man, ſince the wicked have ſo many op portunities of doing public miſchief. Every ma is upon his own guard for his private advantage but, where the publick is concerned, he is apt t be negligent, conſidering himſelf only as one among two or three millions, among whom the loſs i equally ſhared; and thus, he thinks, he can be no great ſufferer. Mean while the trader, the farmer and the ſhop-keeper, complain of the hardneſs and deadneſs of the times, and wonder whence it comes; while it is in a great meaſure owing t their own folly, for want of that love of their country, and public ſpirit and firm union among themſelves, which are ſo neceſſary to the proſperity o every nation.

Another method, by which the meaneſt wicked man may have it in his power to injure the publick, is falſe accuſation; whereof this kingdom hath afforded too many examples: neither is it long ſince no man, whoſe opinions were thought to differ from thoſe in faſhion, could ſafely converſe beyond his neareſt friends, for fear of being ſworn againſt, as a traitor, by thoſe who made a traffick of perjury and ſubornation; by which, the very peace of the nation was diſturbed, and men fled from each other as they would from a lion or a bear got looſe. And it is very remarkable, that the pernicious project now in hand, to reduce us to beggary, was forwarded by one of theſe falſe accuſers, who had been convicted of endeavouring, by perjury and ſubornation, to take away the lives of ſeveral innocent perſons here among us: and, indeed, there could not be a more proper inſtrument for ſuch a work.

Another method, by which the meaneſt people may do injury to the publick, is the ſpreading of lies and falſe rumours; thus raiſing a diſtruſt among the people of a nation, cauſing them to miſtake their true intereſt, and their enemies for their friends: and this hath been likewiſe too ſucceſsful a practice among us, where we have known the whole kingdom miſled by the groſſeſt lies, raiſed upon occaſion to ſerve ſome particular turn. As it hath alſo happened in the caſe I lately mentioned, where one obſcure man, by repreſenting our wants where they were leaſt, and concealing them where they were greateſt, had almoſt ſucceeded in a pro-

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ject of utterly ruining this whole kingdom; and may ſtill ſucceed, if God doth not continue that public ſpirit, which he hath almoſt miraculouſly kindled in us upon this occaſion.

Thus we ſee the publick is many times, as it were, at the mercy of the meaneſt inſtrument, who can be wicked enough to watch opportunities of doing it miſchief, upon the principles of avarice or malice; which, I am afraid, are deeply rooted in too many breaſts, and againſt which there can be no defence, but a firm reſolution in all honeſt men, to be cloſely united and active in ſhewing their love to their country, by preferring the public intereſt to their preſent private advantage. If a paſſenger, in a great ſtorm at ſea, ſhould hide his goods, that they might not be thrown overboard to lighten the ſhip, what would be the conſequence? The ſhip is caſt away, and he loſes his life and goods together.

We have heard of men, who, through greedineſs of gain, have brought infected goods into a nation; which bred a plague, whereof the owners and their families periſhed firſt. Let thoſe among us conſider this and tremble, whoſe houſes are privately ſtored with thoſe materials of beggary and deſolation, lately brought over to be ſcattered like a peſtilence among their countrymen, which may probably firſt ſeize upon themſelves and their families, until their houſes ſhall be made a dunghill.

I ſhall mention one practice more, by which the meaneſt inſtruments often ſucceed in doing

public miſchief; and this is by deceiving us with plauſible arguments, to make us believe that the moſt ruinous project they can offer is intended for our good, as it happened in the caſe ſo often mentioned. For the poor ignorant people, allured by the appearing convenience in their ſmall dealings, did not diſcover the ſerpent in the braſs, but were ready, like the Iſraelites, to offer incenſe to it; neither could the wiſdom of the nation convince them, until ſome, of good intentions, made the cheat ſo plain to their ſight, that thoſe who run may read. And thus the deſign was to treat us, in every point, as the Philiſtines treated Sampſon (I mean when he was betrayed by Dalilah) firſt to put out our eyes, and then bind us with fetters of braſs.

I proceed to the laſt thing I propoſed, which was, to ſhew you that all wilful injuries done to the publick, are very great and aggravated ſins in the ſight of God.

Firſt, It is apparent from Scripture, and moſt agreeable to reaſon, that the ſafety and welfare of nations are under the moſt peculiar care of God's providence. Thus he promiſed Abraham to ſave Sodom, if only ten righteous men could be found in it. Thus the reaſon which God gave to Jonas for not deſtroying Nineveh, was, becauſe there were ſix-ſcore thouſand men in that city.

All government is from God, who is the God of order; and therefore whoever attempts to breed confuſion or diſturbance among a people, doth his utmoſt to take the government of the world out of God's hands, and to put it into the hands of the Devil,

Devil, who is the author of confuſion. By wl it is plain, that no crime, how heinous ſoe committed againſt particular perſons, can equal guilt of him who does injury to the publick.

Secondly, All offenders againſt their country under this grievous difficulty, that it is impoſſ to obtain a pardon, or make reſtitution. The b of mankind are very quick at reſenting injur and very ſlow in forgiving them: and how ſl one man be able to obtain the pardon of millic or repair the injuries he hath done to millio how ſhall thoſe, who, by a moſt deſtructive fra got the whole wealth of our neighbouring kingd into their hands, be ever able to make a reco pence? how will the authors and promoters of t villainous project, for the ruin of this poor co try, be able to account with us for the inju they have already done, although they ſhould farther ſucceed? The deplorable caſe of ſ wretches muſt entirely be left to the unfathom mercies of God: for thoſe who know the leaſt religion are not ignorant, that without our utn endeavours to make reſtitution to the perſon jured, and to obtain his pardon, added to a ſinc repentance, there is no hope of ſalvation giver the Goſpel.

Laſtly, All offences againſt our own cour have this aggravation, that they are ungrat and unnatural. It is to our country we owe th laws, which protect us in our lives, our liber our properties, and our religion. Our cour produced us into the world, and continues to n

riſh us, ſo that it is uſually called our mother; and there have been examples of great magiſtrates, who have put their own children to death for endeavouring to betray their country, as if they had attempted the life of their natural parent.

Thus I have briefly ſhewn you how terrible a ſin it is to be an enemy to our country, in order to incite you to the contrary virtue, which at this juncture is ſo highly neceſſary, when every man's endeavour will be of uſe. We have hitherto been juſt able to ſupport ourſelves under many hardſhips; but now the axe is laid to the root of the tree, and nothing but a firm union among us can prevent our utter undoing. This we are obliged to, in duty to our gracious king, as well as to ourſelves. Let us therefore preſerve that public ſpirit, which God hath raiſed in us for our own temporal intereſt. For, if this wicked project ſhould ſucceed, which it cannot do but by our own folly; if we ſell ourſelves for nought; the merchant, the ſhopkeeper, the artificer, muſt fly to the deſart with their miſerable families, there to ſtarve, or live upon rapine, or at leaſt exchange their country for one more hoſpitable than that where they were born.

Thus much I thought it my duty to ſay to you who are under my care, to warn you againſt thoſe temporal evils, which may draw the worſt of ſpiriritual evils after them; ſuch as heart-burnings, murmurings, diſcontents, and all manner of wickedneſs, which a deſperate condition of life may tempt men to.

I am ſenſible that what I have now ſaid will not go very far, being confined to this aſſembly; but I hope it may ſtir up others of my brethren to exhort their ſeveral congregations, after a more effectual manner, to ſhew their love for their country on this important occaſion. And this, I am ſure, cannot be called meddling in affairs of ſtate.

I pray God protect his moſt gracious majeſty, and this kingdom long under his government; and defend us from all ruinous projectors, deceivers, ſuborners, perjurers, falſe accuſers, and oppreſſors; from the virulence of party and faction; and unite us in loyalty to our king, love to our country, and charity to each other. And this we beg, for Jeſus Chriſt's ſake: to whom, &c.

A

PRAYER

FOR

MRS. JOHNSON*.

ALMIGHTY and moſt gracious Lord God, extend, we beſeech thee, thy pity and com-ſſion towards this thy languiſhing ſervant: teach r to place her hope and confidence entirely in ee: give her a true ſenſe of the emptineſs and nity of all earthly things: make her truly ſen-ɔle of all the infirmities of her life paſt; and ant to her ſuch a true ſincere repentance as is not be repented of. Preſerve her, O Lord, in a und mind and underſtanding, during this thy vi-ation; keep her from both the ſad extremes of reſumption and deſpair. If thou ſhalt pleaſe to ſtore her to her former health, give her grace to ; ever mindful of that mercy, and to keep thoſe ɔod reſolutions ſhe now makes in her ſickneſs; ſo ıat no length of time, nor proſperity, may entice er to forget them. Let no thought of her mis-ɔrtunes diſtract her mind, and prevent the means ɔwards her recovery, or diſturb her in her prepa-ıtions for a better life. We beſeech thee alſo, O ord, of thy infinite goodneſs, to remember the ood actions of this thy ſervant; that the naked

* Stella.

ſhe hath clothed, the hungry ſhe hath fed, the ſick and the fatherleſs whom ſhe hath relieved, may be reckoned, according to thy gracious promiſe, as if they had been done unto thee. Hearken, O Lord, to the prayers offered up by the friends of this thy ſervant in her behalf, and eſpecially thoſe now made by us unto thee. Give thy bleſſing to thoſe endeavours uſed for her recovery; but take from her all violent deſire either of life or death, farther than with reſignation to thy holy will. And now, O Lord, we implore thy gracious favour towards us here met together. Grant that the ſenſe of this thy ſervant's weakneſs may add ſtrength to our faith; that we, conſidering the infirmities of our nature, and the uncertainty of life, may, by this example, be drawn to repentance, before it ſhall pleaſe thee to viſit us in the like manner. Accept theſe prayers, we beſeech Thee, for the ſake of thy dear Son Jeſus Chriſt, our Lord; who, with Thee and the Holy Ghoſt, liveth and reigneth ever one God world without end. Amen.

A PRAYER uſed by the DEAN for Mrs. JOHNSQN in her laſt SICKNESS.

Written October 17, 1727.

MOST merciful Father, accept our humbleſt prayers in behalf of this thy languiſhing ſervant: forgive the ſins, the frailties and infirmities of her life paſt. Accept the good deeds ſhe hath done in ſuch a manner, that, at whatever time thou ſhalt pleaſe to call her, ſhe may be received into everlaſting habitations. Give her grace to continue ſincerely thankful to thee for the many favours thou haſt beſtowed upon her, the ability and inclination and practice to do good, and thoſe virtues, which have procured the eſteem and love of her friends, and a moſt unſpotted name in the world. O God, thou diſpenſeſt thy bleſſings and thy puniſhments as it becometh infinite juſtice and mercy; and ſince it was thy pleaſure to afflict her with a long, conſtant, weakly ſtate of health, make her truly ſenſible, that it was for very wiſe ends, and was largely made up to her in other bleſſings more valuable and leſs common. Continue to her, O Lord, that firmneſs and conſtancy of mind, wherewith thou haſt moſt graciouſly endowed her, together with that contempt of worldly things and vanities, that ſhe hath ſhewn in the whole conduct of her life. O all-powerful Being, the leaſt motion of whoſe will can create or deſtroy a world; pity us, the mournful friends of thy diſtreſſed ſervant, who

ſink under the weight of her preſent condition, the fear of loſing the moſt valuable of our frien reſtore her to us, O Lord, if it be thy graci will, or inſpire us with conſtancy and reſignati to ſupport ourſelves under ſo heavy an afflicti Reſtore her, O Lord, for the ſake of thoſe p who by loſing her will be deſolate; and thoſe f who will not only want her bounty, but her c and tending; or elſe, in thy mercy, raiſe up ſc other in her place with equal diſpoſition and be abilities. Leſſen, O Lord, we beſeech thee, bodily pains, or give her a double ſtrength of m to ſupport them. And if thou wilt ſoon take to thyſelf, turn our thoughts rather upon that f city, which we hope ſhe ſhall enjoy, than u that unſpeakable loſs we ſhall endure. Let memory be ever dear unto us; and the exampl her many virtues, as far as human infirmity admit, our conſtant imitation. Accept, O L theſe prayers poured from the very bottom of hearts, in thy mercy, and for the merits of bleſſed Saviour. Amen.

ANOTHER, written Nov. 6, 1727.

O Merciful Father, who never afflicteſt thy ch ren, but for their own good, and with j tice, over which thy mercy always prevaileth, eit to turn them to repentance, or to puniſh them the preſent life, in order to reward them i better; take pity, we beſeech thee, upon this poor afflicted ſervant, languiſhing ſo long and grievo

grievouſly under the weight of thy hand. Give her ſtrength, O Lord, to ſupport her weakneſs; and patience to endure her pains, without repining at thy correction. Forgive every raſh and inconſiderate expreſſion, which her anguiſh may at any time force from her tongue, while her heart continueth in an entire ſubmiſſion to thy will. Suppreſs in her, O Lord, all eager deſires of life, and leſſen her fears of death, by inſpiring into her an humble, yet aſſured hope of thy mercy. Give her a ſincere repentance for all her tranſgreſſions and omiſſions, and a firm reſolution to paſs the remainder of her life in endeavouring to her utmoſt to obſerve all thy precepts. We beſeech thee likewiſe to compoſe her thoughts; and preſerve to her the uſe of her memory and reaſon, during the courſe of her ſickneſs. Give her a true conception of the vanity, folly, and inſignificancy of all human things; and ſtrengthen her ſo as to beget in her a ſincere love of thee in the midſt of her ſufferings. Accept, and impute all her good deeds, and forgive her all thoſe offences againſt thee, which ſhe hath ſincerely repented of, or through the frailty of memory hath forgot. And now, O Lord, we turn to thee in behalf of ourſelves, and the reſt of her ſorrowful friends. Let not our grief afflict her mind, and thereby have an ill effect on her preſent diſtemper. Forgive the ſorrow and weakneſs of thoſe among us, who ſink under the grief and terror of loſing ſo dear and uſeful a friend. Accept and pardon our moſt earneſt prayers and wiſhes for her longer continuance in this evil

world, to do what thou art pleaſed to call thy ſervice, and is only her bounden duty; that ſhe may be ſtill a comfort to us, and to all others, who will want the benefit of her converſation, her advice, her good offices, or her charity. And ſince thou haſt promiſed, that, where two or three are gathered together in thy name, thou wilt be in the midſt of them, to grant their requeſt; O gracious Lord, grant to us who are here met in thy name, that thoſe requeſts, which in the utmoſt ſincerity and earneſtneſs of our hearts we have now made in behalf of this thy diſtreſſed ſervant, and of ourſelves, may effectually be anſwered; through the merits of Jeſus Chriſt our Lord. Amen.

THOUGHTS

ON

RELIGION.

I AM in all opinions to believe according to my own impartial reaſon; which I am bound to nform and improve, as far as my capacity and opportunities will permit.

It may be prudent in me to act ſometimes by ɔther mens reaſon; but I can think only by my ɔwn.

If another man's reaſon fully convinces me, it ɔecomes my own reaſon.

To ſay a man is bound to believe, is neither ruth nor ſenſe.

You may force men, by intereſt or puniſhment, ɔ ſay or ſwear they believe, and to act as if they ɔelieved: you can go no farther.

Every man, as a member of the commonwealth, ɔught to be content with the poſſeſſion of his own ɔpinion in private, without perplexing his neighɔour, or diſturbing the publick.

Violent zeal for truth, has a hundred to one ɔdds, to be either petulancy, ambition, or pride.

There is a degree of corruption, wherein ſome ıations, as bad as the world is, will proceed to an .mendment; till which time, particular men ſhould ɔe quiet.

To remove opinions fundamental in religion, is impoſſible, and the attempt wicked, whether thoſe opinions be true or falſe; unleſs your avowed deſign be to aboliſh that religion altogether. So, for inſtance, in the famous doctrine of Chriſt's divinity, which has been univerſally received by all bodies of Chriſtians, ſince the condemnation of Arianiſm under Conſtantine and his ſucceſſors: wherefore the proceedings of the Socinians are both vain and unwarrantable; becauſe they will be never able to advance their own opinion, or meet any other ſucceſs than breeding doubts and diſturbances in the world—*Qui ratione ſuâ diſturbant mœnia mundi.*

The want of belief is a defect that ought to be concealed, when it cannot be overcome.

The Chriſtian religion, in the moſt early times, was propoſed to the Jews and Heathens without the article of Chriſt's divinity; which, I remember, Eraſmus accounts for, by its being too ſtrong a meat for babes. Perhaps, if it were now ſoftened by the Chineſe miſſionaries, the converſion of thoſe infidels would be leſs difficult: and we find, by the Alcoran, it is the great ſtumbling-block of the Mahometans. But, in a country already Chriſtian, to bring ſo fundamental a point of faith into debate, can have no conſequences that are not pernicious to morals and public peace.

I have been often offended to find St. Paul's allegories, and other figures of Grecian eloquence, converted by divines into articles of faith.

God's mercy is over all his works; but divines of all ſorts leſſen that mercy too much.

I look upon myſelf, in the capacity of a clergyman, to be one appointed by Providence for defending a poſt aſſigned me, and for gaining over as many enemies as I can. Although I think my cauſe is juſt; yet one great motive is my ſubmitting to the pleaſure of Providence, and to the laws of my country.

I am not anſwerable to God for the doubts that ariſe in my own breaſt, ſince they are the conſequence of that reaſon which he has planted in me; if I take care to conceal thoſe doubts from others, if I uſe my beſt endeavours to ſubdue them, and if they have no influence on the conduct of my life.

I believe that thouſands of men would be orthodox enough in certain points, if divines had not been too curious, or too narrow, in reducing orthodoxy within the compaſs of ſubtleties, niceties, and diſtinctions, with little warrant from Scripture, and leſs from reaſon or good policy.

I never ſaw, heard, nor read, that the clergy were beloved in any nation where Chriſtianity was the religion of the country. Nothing can render them popular, but ſome degree of perſecution.

Thoſe fine gentlemen, who affect the humour of railing at the clergy, are, I think, bound in honour to turn parſons themſelves, and ſhew us better examples.

Miſerable mortals! can we contribute to the honour and glory of God? I could wiſh that expreſſion were ſtruck out of our prayer-books.

Liberty

Liberty of conſcience, properly ſpeaking, is no more than the liberty of poſſeſſing our own thoughts and opinions, which every man enjoys without fear of the magiſtrate: but how far he ſhall publickly act in purſuance of thoſe opinions, is to be regulated by the laws of the country. Perhaps, in my own thoughts, I prefer a well-inſtituted commonwealth before a monarchy; and I know ſeveral others of the ſame opinion. Now, if, upon this pretence, I ſhould inſiſt upon liberty of conſcience, form conventicles of republicans, and print books preferring that government, and condemning what is eſtabliſhed, the magiſtrate would, with great juſtice, hang me and my diſciples. It is the ſame caſe in religion, although not ſo avowed; where liberty of conſcience, under the preſent acceptation, equally produces revolutions, or at leaſt convulſions and diſturbances, in a ſtate; which politicians would ſee well enough, if their eyes were not blinded by faction, and of which theſe kingdoms, as well as France, Sweden, and other countries, are flaming inſtances. Cromwell's notion upon this article was natural and right; when, upon the ſurrender of a town in Ireland, the Popiſh governor inſiſted upon an article for liberty of conſcience, Cromwell ſaid, "He meddled with no man's conſcience; but if, "by liberty of conſcience, the governor meant the "liberty of the Maſs, he had expreſs orders from "the parliament of England againſt admitting any "ſuch liberty at all."

It is impoſſible that any thing ſo natural, ſo neceſſary, and ſo univerſal as death, ſhould ever

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have been deſigned by Providence as an evil to mankind.

Although reaſon were intended by Providence to govern our paſſions; yet it ſeems that in two points of the greateſt moment to the being and continuance of the world, God has intended our paſſions to prevail over reaſon. The firſt is, the propagation of our ſpecies; ſince no wiſe man ever married from the dictates of reaſon. The other is, the love of life; which, from the dictates of reaſon, every man would deſpiſe, and wiſh it at an end, or that it never had a beginning.

Mr. COLLINS'S

DISCOURSE OF

FREE-THINKING;

PUT INTO ENGLISH,

BY WAY OF ABSTRACT,

FOR

THE USE OF THE POOR.

BY A FRIEND OF THE AUTHOR.

First printed in 1713.

INTRODUCTION.

OUR Party * having failed, by all their political arguments, to re-eſtabliſh their power; e wiſe leaders have determined that the laſt and incipal remedy ſhould be made uſe of, for open- g the eyes of this blinded nation; and that a ort, but perfect ſyſtem of their divinity ſhould be ıbliſhed, to which we are all of us ready to ſub- ribe, and which we lay down as a model, bear- ıg a cloſe analogy to our ſchemes in religion. rafty deſigning men, that they might keep the orld in awe, have, in their ſeveral forms of go- ernment, placed a ſupreme power on earth, to keep uman kind in fear of being hang'd; and a Su- reme Power in heaven, for fear of being damned. ı order to cure mens apprehenſions of the former, veral of our learned members have written many ·ofound treatiſes on Anarchy; but a brief complete ɔdy of Atheology ſeemed yet wanting, till this ir- fragable Diſcourſe appeared. However, it ſo ıppens, that our ableſt brethren, in their elaborate ſquiſitions upon this ſubject, have written with ı much caution, that ignorant unbelievers have lified very little by them. I grant that thoſe

* It is obvious that Dr. Swift is here writing in the aſſumed chaſter of a Whig; and if in ſome few paſſages he may appear to ·ite too freely, the blame muſt revert on the Author whoſe ſentients he exhibits.

daring ſpirits, who firſt adventured to write again the direct rules of the goſpel, the current of anti quity, the religion of the magiſtrate, and the law of the land, had ſome meaſures to keep; and par ticularly when they railed at religion, were in th right to uſe little artful diſguiſes, by which a jur could only find them guilty of abuſing heatheniſ or popery. But the myſtery is now revealed, th there is no ſuch thing as myſtery or revelation; an though our friends are out of place and power, y we may have ſo much confidence in the preſe miniſtry, to be ſecure, that thoſe who ſuffer many free ſpeeches againſt their ſovereign ar themſelves to paſs unpuniſhed, will never reſent o expreſſing the freeſt thoughts againſt their religio but think with Tiberius, that, if there be a Go he is able enough to revenge any injuries do to himſelf, without expecting the civil power interpoſe.

By theſe reflections I was brought to think, th the moſt ingenious author of the Diſcourſe upc Free-thinking, in a letter to Somebody, Eſq; a though he has uſed leſs reſerve than any of h predeceſſors, might yet have been more free an open. I conſidered, that ſeveral well-willers infidelity, might be diſcouraged by a ſhew of logic and a multiplicity of quotations, ſcattered throug his book; which, to underſtandings of that ſiz might carry an appearance of ſomething like bool learning, and conſequently fright them from read ing for their improvement. I could ſee no reaſo why theſe great diſcoveries ſhould be hid from o

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youth of quality, who frequent White's and Tom's; why they ſhould not be adapted to the capacities of the Kit-Cat and Hanover clubs, who might then be able to read lectures on them to their ſeveral toaſts: and it will be allowed on all hands, that nothing can ſooner help to reſtore our abdicated cauſe, than a firm univerſal belief of the principles laid down by this ſublime author: for I am ſenſible that nothing would more contribute to "the continu-"ance of the war," and the reſtoration of the late miniſtry, than to have the doctrines delivered in this treatiſe well infuſed into the people. I have therefore compiled them into the following Abſtract, wherein I have adhered to the very words of our author; only adding ſome few explanations of my own, where the terms happen to be too learned, and conſequently a little beyond the comprehenſion of thoſe for whom the work was principally intended, I mean the nobility and gentry of our party: after which, I hope, it will be impoſſible for the malice of a Jacobite, high-flying, prieſt-ridden faction, to miſrepreſent us. The few additions I have made are for no other uſe than to help the tranſition, which could not otherwiſe be kept in an abſtract: but I have not preſumed to advance any thing of my own; which, beſides, would be needleſs to an author who has ſo fully handled and demonſtrated every particular. I ſhall only add, that though this writer, when he ſpeaks of prieſts, deſires chiefly to be underſtood to mean the Engliſh clergy; yet he includes all prieſts whatſoever,

except the antient and modern Heathens, the Tu
Quakers, and Socinians.

THE LETTER.

SIR,

I SEND you this apology for Free-thinki
without the leaſt hopes of doing good,
purely to comply with your requeſt; for th
truths which nobody can deny, will do no gooc
thoſe who deny them. The clergy, who are ſo i
pudent to teach the people the doctrines of fa
are all either cunning knaves or mad fools; for n
but artificial deſigning men, and crackt-brained
thuſiaſts, preſume to be guides to others in matt
of ſpeculation, which all the doctrines of Chri
anity are; and whoever has a mind to learn
Chriſtian religion, naturally chooſes ſuch kna
and fools to teach them. Now the Bible, wh
contains the precepts of the prieſts' religion, is
moſt difficult book in the world to be underſtoc
it requires a thorough knowledge in natural, ci
eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, law, huſbandry, ſailing, pl
ſick, pharmacy, mathematicks, metaphyſicks, ethic
and every thing elſe that can be named: and ev
body who believes it ought to underſtand it, a
muſt do ſo by force of his own free-thinking, wi
out any guide or inſtructor.

H

How can a man think at all, if he does not think freely? A man who does not eat and drink freely, does not eat and drink at all. Why may not I be denied the liberty of free-ſeeing as well as free-thinking? Yet nobody pretends that the firſt is unlawful, for a cat may look on a king; though you be near-ſighted, or have weak or ſore eyes, or are blind, you may be a free-ſeer; you ought to ſee for yourſelf, and not truſt to a guide to chooſe the colour of your ſtockings, or ſave you from falling into a ditch.

In like manner, there ought to be no reſtraint at all on thinking freely upon any propoſition, however impious or abſurd. There is not the leaſt hurt in the wickedeſt thoughts, provided they be free; nor in telling thoſe thoughts to every body, and endeavouring to convince the world of them; for all this is included in the doctrine of free-thinking, as I ſhall plainly ſhew you in what follows; and therefore you are all along to underſtand the word free-thinking in this ſenſe.

If you are apt to be afraid of the devil, think freely of him, and you deſtroy him and his kingdom. Free-thinking has done him more miſchief than all the clergy in the world ever could do; they believe in the devil, they have an intereſt in him, and therefore are the great ſupports of his kingdom. The devil was in the States General before they began to be free-thinkers: for England and Holland were formerly the Chriſtian territories of the devil. I told you how he left Holland; and free-thinking and the revolution baniſhed him from

England; I defy all the clergy to ſhew me when they ever had ſucceſs againſt him. My meaning is, that to think freely of the devil, is to think there is no devil at all; and he that thinks ſo, the devil is in him if he be afraid of the devil.

But, within theſe two or three years, the devil has come into England again; and Dr. Sacheverell has given him commiſſion to appear in the ſhape of a cat, and carry old women about upon broom-ſticks: and the devil has now ſo many "miniſters "ordained to his ſervice," that they have rendered free-thinking odious, and nothing but the ſecond coming of Chriſt can reſtore it.

The prieſts tell me, I am to believe the Bible; but free-thinking tells me otherwiſe in many particulars. The Bible ſays, the Jews were a nation favoured by God; but I, who am a free-thinker, ſay, that cannot be, becauſe the Jews lived in a corner of the earth, and free-thinking makes it clear that thoſe who live in corners cannot be favourites of God. The New Teſtament all along aſſerts the truth of Chriſtianity; but free-thinking denies it; becauſe Chriſtianity was communicated but to a few; and whatever is communicated but to a few, cannot be true; for that is like whiſpering, and the proverb ſays, "that there is no whiſpering without "lying."

Here is a ſociety in London for propagating free-thinking throughout the world, encouraged and ſupported by the queen and many others. You ſay, perhaps, it is for propagating the goſpel. Do you think the miſſionaries we ſend will tell the heathens

heathens that they muſt not think freely? No, ſurely; why then, it is manifeſt, thoſe miſſionaries muſt be free-thinkers, and make the heathens ſo too. But why ſhould not the king of Siam, whoſe religion is heatheniſm and idolatry, ſend over a parcel of his prieſts to convert us to his church, as well as we ſend miſſionaries there? Both projects are exactly of a piece, and equally reaſonable; and if thoſe heathen prieſts were here, it would be our duty to hearken to them, and think freely whether they may not be in the right rather than we. I heartily wiſh a detachment of ſuch divines as Dr. Atterbury, Dr. Smallridge, Dr. Swift, Dr. Sacheverell, and ſome others, were ſent every year to the fartheſt part of the heathen world, and that we had a cargo of their prieſts in return, who would ſpread free-thinking among us. Then the war would go on, the late miniſtry be reſtored, and faction ceaſe; which our prieſts inflame by haranguing upon text, and falſely call that "preaching the goſpel."

I have another project in my head, which ought to be put in execution, in order to make us free-thinkers. It is a great hardſhip and injuſtice, that our prieſts muſt not be diſturbed while they are prating in their pulpit. For example; why ſhould not William Penn the Quaker, or any Anabaptiſt, Papiſt, Muggletonian, Jew, or Sweet-ſinger, have liberty to come into St. Paul's church, in the midſt of divine ſervice, and endeavour to convert firſt the aldermen, then the preacher, and ſinging-men? or pray, why might not poor Mr. Whiſton, who de-

nies the divinity of Chriſt, be allowed to come into the lower houſe of convocation, and convert the clergy? But, alas! we are over-run with ſuch falſe notions, that, if Penn or Whiſton ſhould do their duty, they would be reckoned fanaticks, and diſturbers of the holy ſynod; although they have as good a title to it as St. Paul had to go into the ſynagogues of the Jews; and their authority is full as divine as his.

Chriſt himſelf commands us to be free-thinkers; for he bids us ſearch the ſcriptures, and take heed what and whom we hear: by which he plainly warns us, not to believe our biſhops and clergy; for Jeſus Chriſt, when he conſidered that all the Jewiſh and heathen prieſts, whoſe religion he came to aboliſh, were his enemies, rightly concluded that thoſe appointed by him to preach his own goſpel would probably be ſo too; and could not be ſecure that any ſet of prieſts, of the faith he delivered, would ever be otherwiſe: therefore it is fully demonſtrated that the clergy of the church of England are mortal enemies to Chriſt, and ought not to be believed.

But, without the privilege of free-thinking, how is it poſſible to know which is the right ſcripture? Here are perhaps twenty ſorts of ſcriptures in the ſeveral parts of the world, and every ſet of prieſts contends that their ſcripture is the true one. The Indian Bramins have a book of ſcripture called the Shaſter; the Perſees their Zundivaſtaw; the Bonzes in China have theirs, written by the diſciples of Fo-he, whom they call "God and Sa-

"viour

iour of the world, who was born to teach the vay of ſalvation, and to give ſatisfaction for all nen's ſins:" which, you ſee, is directly the e with what our prieſts pretend of Chriſt. And ſt we not think freely, to find out which are in right, whether the biſhops, or the Bonzes? But Talapoins, or heathen clergy of Siam, approach nearer to the ſyſtem of our prieſts; they have ook of ſcripture written by Sommonocodam,), the Siameſe ſay, was "born of a virgin," was "the God expected by the univerſe;" juſt ur prieſts tell us, that Jeſus Chriſt was born of Virgin Mary, and was the Meſſiah ſo long ex- :ed. The Turkiſh prieſts, or Derviſes, have r ſcripture, which they call the Alcoran. The 's have the Old Teſtament for their ſcripture, the Chriſtians have both the Old and the New. w, among all theſe ſcriptures, there cannot above be right; and how is it poſſible to know which iat, without reading them all, and then think- freely, every one of us for ourſelves, without owing the advice or inſtruction of any guide, ore we venture to chooſe? The parliament ought e at the charge of finding a ſufficient number heſe ſcriptures, for every one of her majeſty's ects; for, there are twenty to one againſt us, we may be in the wrong: but a great deal of -thinking will at laſt ſet us all right, and every will adhere to the ſcripture he likes beſt; by ch means, religion, peace, and wealth, will be ever ſecured in her majeſty's realms.

And

And it is the more neceſſary that the good people of England ſhould have liberty to chooſe ſome other ſcripture, becauſe all Chriſtian prieſts differ ſo much about the copies of theirs, and about the various readings of the ſeveral manuſcripts, which quite deſtroys the authority of the Bible: for what authority can a book pretend to, where there are various readings? And for this reaſon, it is manifeſt that no man can know the opinions of Ariſtotle or Plato, or believe the facts related by Thucydides or Livy, or be pleaſed with the poetry of Homer and Virgil, all which books are utterly uſeleſs, upon account of their various readings. Some books of ſcripture are ſaid to be loſt, and this utterly deſtroys the credit of thoſe that are left: ſome we reject, which the Africans and Copticks receive; and why may we not think freely, and reject the reſt? Some think the ſcriptures wholly inſpired, ſome partly; and ſome not at all. Now this is juſt the very caſe of the Bramins, Perſees, Bonzes, Talapoins, Dervizes, Rabbis, and all other prieſts, who build their religion upon books, as our prieſts do upon their Bibles. They all equally differ about the copies, various readings, and inſpirations, of their ſeveral ſcriptures; and God knows which are in the right: free-thinking alone can determine it.

It would be endleſs to ſhew in how many particulars the prieſts of the heathen and Chriſtian churches, differ about the meaning even of thoſe ſcriptures which they univerſally receive as ſacred.

But,

But, to avoid prolixity, I ſhall confine myſelf to the different opinions among the prieſts of the church of England; and here only give you a ſpecimen, becauſe even theſe are too many to be enumerated.

I have found out a biſhop (though indeed his opinions are condemned by all his brethren) who allows the ſcriptures to be ſo difficult, that God has left them rather as a trial of our induſtry, than a repoſitory of our faith, and furniture of creeds and articles of belief; with ſeveral other admirable ſchemes of free-thinking, which you may conſult at your leiſure.

The doctrine of the Trinity is the moſt fundamental point of the whole Chriſtian religion. Nothing is more eaſy to a free-thinker: yet what different notions of it do the Engliſh prieſts pretend to deduce from ſcripture, explaining it by "ſpeci-" fic unities, eternal modes of ſubſiſtence," and the like unintelligible jargon! Nay, it is a queſtion whether this doctrine be fundamental or not; for though Dr. South and biſhop Bull affirm it, yet biſhop Taylor and Dr. Wallis deny it. And that excellent free-thinking prelate biſhop Taylor obſerves, that Athanaſius's example was followed with too much greedineſs; by which means it has happened, that the greater number of our prieſts are in that ſentiment, and think it neceſſary to believe the Trinity, and incarnation of Chriſt.

Our prieſts likewiſe diſpute ſeveral circumſtances about the reſurrection of the dead, the nature of our bodies after the reſurrection, and in what manner

ner they ſhall be united to our ſouls. They alſo attack one another "very weakly, with great vigour," about predeſtination. And it is certainly true (for biſhop Taylor and Mr. Whiſton the Socinian ſay ſo) that all churches in proſperity alter their doctrines every age, and are neither ſatisfied with themſelves or their own confeſſions; neither does any clergymen of ſenſe believe the thirty-nine articles.

Our prieſts differ about the eternity of hell-torments. The famous Dr. Henry More, and the moſt pious and rational of all prieſts Dr. Tillotſon, (both free-thinkers) believe them to be not eternal. They differ about keeping the ſabbath, the divine right of epiſcopacy, and the doctrine of original ſin; which is the foundation of the whole Chriſtian religion; for, if men are not liable to be damned for Adam's ſin, the Chriſtian religion is an impoſture: yet this is now diſputed among them; ſo is lay-baptiſm: ſo was formerly the lawfulneſs of uſury; but now the prieſts are common ſtock-jobbers, attornies, and ſcriveners. In ſhort, there is no end of diſputing among prieſts; and therefore I conclude, that there ought to be no ſuch thing in the world as prieſts, teachers, or guides, for inſtructing ignorant people in religion; but that every man ought to think freely for himſelf.

I will tell you my meaning in all this. The prieſts diſpute every point in the Chriſtian religion, as well as almoſt every text in the Bible; and the force of my argument lies here, that whatever point is diſputed by one or two divines, however condemned

condemned by the church, not only that particular point, but the whole article to which it relates, may lawfully be received or rejected by any free-thinker. For inſtance, ſuppoſe More and Tillotſon deny the eternity of hell-torments, a free-thinker may deny all future puniſhments whatſoever. The prieſts diſpute about explaining the Trinity; therefore a free-thinker may reject one or two, or the whole three perſons; at leaſt, he may reject Chriſtianity, becauſe the Trinity is the moſt fundamental doctrine of that religion. So I affirm original ſin, and that men are now liable to be damned for Adam's ſin, to be the foundation of the whole Chriſtian religion; but this point was formerly, and is now, diſputed: therefore a free-thinker may deny the whole. And I cannot help giving you one farther direction, how I inſinuate all along, that the wiſeſt free-thinking prieſts, whom you may diſtinguiſh by the epithets I beſtow on them, were thoſe who differed moſt from the generality of their brethren.

But, beſides, the conduct of our prieſts in many other points makes free-thinking unavoidable; for, ſome of them own, that the doctrines of the church are contradictory to one another, as well as to reaſon; which I thus prove: Dr. Sacheverell ſays, in his ſpeech at his trial, "That, by abandoning 'paſſive obedience, we muſt render ourſelves the 'moſt inconſiſtent church in the world;" *ergo*, there muſt have been a great many inconſiſtencies and contradictory doctrines in the church before. Dr. South deſcribes the incarnation of Chriſt as

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an aſtoniſhing myſtery, impoſſible to be conceived by man's reaſon; *ergo*, it is contradictory to itſelf, and to reaſon, and ought to be exploded by all free-thinkers.

Another inſtance of the prieſts' conduct, which multiplies free-thinkers, is their acknowledgment of abuſes, defects, and falſe doctrines, in the church; particularly that of eating black pudding, which is ſo plainly forbid in the Old and New Teſtament, that I wonder thoſe who pretend to believe a ſyllable in either will preſume to taſte it. Why ſhould I mention the want of diſcipline, and of a ſide-board at the altar, with complaints of other great abuſes and defects made by ſome of the prieſts, which no man can think on without free-thinking, and conſequently rejecting Chriſtianity?

When I ſee an honeſt free-thinking biſhop endeavour to deſtroy the power and privileges of the church, and Dr. Atterbury angry with him for it, and calling it "dirty work;" what can I conclude, by virtue of being a free-thinker, but that Chriſtianity is all a cheat?

Mr. Whiſton has publiſhed ſeveral tracts, wherein he abſolutely denies the divinity of Chriſt. A biſhop tells him, "Sir, in any matter where you "have the church's judgment againſt you, you "ſhould be careful not to break the peace of the "church, by writing againſt it, though you are "ſure you are in the right." Now my opinion is directly contrary; and I affirm, that if ten thouſand free-thinkers thought differently from the received doctrine, and from each other, they would

be all in duty bound to publiſh their thoughts, provided they were all ſure of being in the right, though it broke the peace of the church and ſtate ten thouſand times.

And here I muſt take leave to tell you, although you cannot but have perceived it from what I have already ſaid, and ſhall be ſtill more amply convinced by what is to follow, that free-thinking ſignifies nothing, without free-ſpeaking and free-writing. It is the indiſpenſable duty of a free-thinker, to endeavour forcing all the world to think as he does, and by that means make them free-thinkers too. You are alſo to underſtand, that I allow no man to be a free-thinker, any farther than as he differs from the received doctrines of religion. Where a man falls in, though by perfect chance, with what is generally believed, he is in that point a confined and limited thinker; and you ſhall ſee by and by, that I celebrate thoſe for the nobleſt free-thinkers in every age, who differed from the religion of their countries in the moſt fundamental points, and eſpecially in thoſe which bear any analogy to the chief fundamentals of religion among us.

Another trick of the prieſts is, to charge all men with atheiſm, who have more wit than themſelves; which therefore I expect will be my caſe for writing this Diſcourſe. This is what makes them ſo implacable againſt Mr. Gildon, Dr. Tindal, Mr. Toland, and myſelf; and when they call us wits atheiſts, it provokes us to be free-thinkers.

Again: the prieſts cannot agree when their ſcripture was written. They differ about the number

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of canonical books, and the various readings. Now thoſe few among us who underſtand Latin, are careful to tell this to our diſciples, who preſently fall a free-thinking, that the Bible is a book not to be depended upon in any thing at all.

There is another thing, that mightily ſpreads free-thinking, which I believe you would hardly gueſs. The prieſts have got a way of late of writing books againſt free-thinking; I mean, Treatiſes in dialogue, where they introduce atheiſts, deiſts, ſcepticks, and Socinians, offering their ſeveral arguments. Now theſe free-thinkers are too hard for the prieſts themſelves in their own books. And how can it be otherwiſe? For, if the arguments uſually offered by atheiſts are fairly repreſented in theſe books, they muſt needs convert every body that reads them; becauſe atheiſts, deiſts, ſcepticks, and Socinians, have certainly better arguments to maintain their opinions, than any the prieſts can produce to maintain the contrary.

Mr. Creech, a prieſt, tranſlated Lucretius into Engliſh, which is a complete ſyſtem of atheiſm; and ſeveral young ſtudents, who were afterwards prieſts, wrote verſes in praiſe of this tranſlation. The arguments againſt Providence in that book are ſo ſtrong, that they have added mightily to the number of free-thinkers.

Why ſhould I mention the pious cheats of the prieſts, who in the New Teſtament tranſlate the word *eccleſia* ſometimes the *church*, and ſometimes the *congregation*; and *epiſcopus*, ſometimes a *biſhop*, and ſometimes an *overſeer*? A prieſt, tranſlating a book,

book, left out a whole paſſage that reflected on the king, by which he was an enemy to political free-thinking, a moſt conſiderable branch of our ſyſtem. Another prieſt, tranſlating a book of travels, left out a lying miracle, out of mere malice, to conceal an argument for free-thinking. In ſhort, theſe frauds are very common in all books which are publiſhed by prieſts. But, however, I love to excuſe them whenever I can: and as to this accuſation, they may plead the authority of the ancient fathers of the church, for forgery, corruption, and mangling authors, with more reaſon than for any of their articles of faith. St. Jerom, St. Hilary, Euſebius Vercellenſis, Victorinus, and ſeveral others, were all guilty of arrant forgery and corruption: for, when they tranſlated the works of ſeveral free-thinkers, whom they called hereticks, they omitted all their hereſies or free-thinkings, and had the impudence to own it to the world.

From theſe many notorious inſtances of the prieſts' conduct, I conclude they are not to be relied on in any one thing relating to religion; but that every man muſt think freely for himſelf.

But to this it may be objected, that the bulk of mankind is as well qualified for flying as thinking; and if every man thought it his duty to think freely, and trouble his neighbour with his thoughts (which is an eſſential part of free-thinking) it would make wild work in the world. I anſwer; whoever cannot think freely, may let it alone if he pleaſes, by virtue of his right to think freely; that is to ſay, if ſuch a man freely thinks that he cannot

think freely, of which every man is a ſufficien[illegible] judge, why then he need not think freely, unle[illegible] he thinks fit.

Beſides, if the bulk of mankind cannot thin[illegible] freely in matters of ſpeculation, as the being of God, the immortality of the ſoul, &c.; why the[illegible] free-thinking is indeed no duty: but then the[illegible] prieſts muſt allow, that men are not concerned to believe whether there is a God or not. But ſtill thoſe who are diſpoſed to think freely, may think freely if they pleaſe.

It is again objected, that free-thinking will produce endleſs diviſions in opinion, and by conſequence diſorder ſociety. To which I anſwer,

When every ſingle man comes to have a different opinion every day from the whole world, and from himſelf, by virtue of free-thinking, and thinks it his duty to convert every man to his own free-thinking, as all we free-thinkers do; how can that poſſibly create ſo great a diverſity of opinions, as to have a ſet of prieſts agree among themſelves to teach the ſame opinions in their ſeveral pariſhes to all who will come to hear them? Beſides, if all people were of the ſame opinion, the remedy would be worſe than the diſeaſe; I will tell you the reaſon ſome other time.

Beſides, difference in opinion, eſpecially in matters of great moment, breeds no confuſion at all. Witneſs papiſt and proteſtant, roundhead and cavalier, and whig and tory, now among us. I obſerve, the Turkiſh empire is more at peace within itſelf, than Chriſtian princes are with one another. Thoſe noble

noble Turkiſh virtues of charity and toleration are what contribute chiefly to the flouriſhing ſtate of that happy monarchy. There Chriſtians and Jews are tolerated, and live at eaſe, if they can hold their tongues and think freely, provided they never ſet foot within the moſques, nor write again Mahomet. A few plunderings now and then by their janiſſaries are all they have to fear.

It is objected, that by free-thinking, men will think themſelves into atheiſm; and indeed I have allowed all along, that atheiſtical books convert men to free-thinking. But ſuppoſe that be true; I can bring you two divines, who affirm ſuperſtition and enthuſiaſm to be worſe than atheiſm, and more miſchievous to ſociety: and in ſhort it is neceſſary that the bulk of the people ſhould be atheiſts or ſuperſtitious.

It is objected, that prieſts ought to be relied on by the people, as lawyers and phyſicians, becauſe it is their faculty. I anſwer, It is true, a man who is no lawyer, is not ſuffered to plead for himſelf. But every man may be his own quack if he pleaſes, and he only ventures his life; but, in the other caſe, the prieſt tells him he muſt be damned: therefore do not truſt the prieſt, but think freely for yourſelf; and if you happen to think there is no hell, there certainly is none, and conſequently you cannot be damned. I anſwer farther, that wherever there is no lawyer, phyſician, or prieſt, that country is paradiſe. Beſides, all prieſts (except the orthodox, and thoſe are not ours, nor any that I know) are hired by the public

to lead men into miſchief: but lawyers and phyſicians are not; you hire them yourſelf.

It is objected (by prieſts, no doubt, but I have forgot their names) that falſe ſpeculations are neceſſary to be impoſed upon men, in order to aſſiſt the magiſtrate in keeping the peace; and that men ought therefore to be deceived, like children, for their own good. I anſwer, that zeal for impoſing ſpeculations, whether true or falſe (under which name of ſpeculations I include all opinions of religion, as the belief of a God, providence, immortality of the ſoul, future rewards and puniſhments, *&c.*) has done more hurt, than it is poſſible for religion to do good. It puts us to the charge of maintaining ten thouſand prieſts in England, which is a burden upon ſociety never felt on any other occaſion; and a greater evil to the public, than if theſe eccleſiaſticks were only employed in the moſt innocent offices of life, which I take to be eating and drinking. Now, if you offer to impoſe any thing on mankind beſide what relates to moral duties, as to pay your debts, not pick pockets, nor commit murder, and the like; that is to ſay, if, beſide this, you oblige them to believe in God and Jeſus Chriſt, what you add to their faith, will take juſt ſo much off from their morality. By this argument, it is manifeſt that a perfect moral man muſt be a perfect atheiſt; every inch of religion he gets, loſes him an inch of morality: for there is a certain *quantum* belongs to every man, of which there is nothing to ſpare. This is clear from the common practice of all our prieſts: they never once preach to you, to

love

ove your neighbour, to be juſt in your dealings, r to be ſober and temperate. The ſtreets of Lon- on are full of common whores, publickly tolerated 1 their wickedneſs; yet the prieſts make no com- laints againſt this enormity, either from the pulpit r the preſs: I can affirm, that neither you nor I, ir, have ever heard one ſermon againſt whoring nce we were boys. No, the prieſts allow all theſe ices, and love us the better for them, provided e will promiſe not to "harangue upon a text," or to ſprinkle a little water in a child's face, which ey call Baptizing, and would engroſs it all to emſelves.

Beſides, the prieſts engage all the rogues, villains, nd fools, in their party, in order to make it as rge as they can: by this means they ſeduced onſtantine the Great over to their religion, who as the firſt Chriſtian emperor, and ſo horrible a illain, that the heathen prieſts told him they could ot expiate his crimes in their church; ſo he was t a loſs to know what to do, till an Ægyptian iſhop aſſured him that there was no villainy ſo reat, but was to be expiated by the ſacraments of he Chriſtian religion; upon which he became a Chriſtian, and to him that religion owes its firſt ettlement.

It is objected, that free-thinkers themſelves are he moſt infamous, wicked, and ſenſeleſs, of all nankind.

I anſwer, firſt, we ſay the ſame of prieſts and other elievers. But the truth is, men of all ſects are

equally good and bad; for no religion whatſoever contributes in the leaſt to mend mens lives.

I anſwer, ſecondly, that free-thinkers uſe their underſtanding; but thoſe who have religion, do not: therefore the firſt have more underſtanding than the others; witneſs Toland, Tindal, Gildon, Clendon, Coward, and myſelf. For, uſe legs, and have legs.

I anſwer, thirdly, that free-thinkers are the moſt virtuous perſons in the world; for all free-thinkers muſt certainly differ from the prieſts, and from nine hundred ninety-nine of a thouſand of thoſe among whom they live; and are therefore virtuous of courſe, becauſe every body hates them.

I anſwer, fourthly, that the moſt virtuous people in all ages have been free-thinkers; of which I ſhall produce ſeveral inſtances.

Socrates was a free-thinker; for he diſbelieved the gods of his country, and the common creeds about them, and declared his diſlike when he heard men attribute "repentance, anger, and other paſ-"ſions to the gods, and talk of wars and battles in "heaven, and of the gods getting women with "child," and ſuch like fabulous and blaſphemous ſtories. I pick out theſe particulars, becauſe they are the very ſame with what the prieſts have in their Bibles, where repentance and anger are attributed to God; where it is ſaid, there was "war in "heaven;" and that "the Virgin Mary was with "child by the Holy Ghoſt," whom the prieſts call God; all fabulous and blaſphemous ſtories. Now

I affirm

I affirm Socrates to have been a true Chriſtian. You will aſk perhaps how that can be, ſince he lived three or four hundred years before Chriſt? I anſwer, with Juſtin Martyr, that Chriſt is nothing elſe but reaſon; and I hope you do not think Socrates lived before reaſon. Now, this true Chriſtian Socrates never made notions, ſpeculations, or myſteries, any part of his religion; but demonſtrated all men to be fools who troubled themſelves with enquiries into heavenly things. Laſtly, it is plain that Socrates was a free-thinker, becauſe he was calumniated for an atheiſt, as free-thinkers generally are, only becauſe he was an enemy to all ſpeculations and enquiries into heavenly things. For I argue thus, that, if I never trouble myſelf to think whether there be a God or not, and forbid others to do it, I am a free-thinker, but not an atheiſt.

Plato was a free-thinker; and his notions are ſo like ſome in the goſpel, that a heathen charged Chriſt with borrowing his doctrine from Plato. But Origen defends Chriſt very well againſt this charge, by ſaying he did not underſtand Greek, and therefore could not borrow his doctrines from Plato. However, their two religions agreed ſo well, that it was common for Chriſtians to turn Platoniſts, and Platoniſts Chriſtians. When the Chriſtians found out this, one of their zealous prieſts (worſe than any atheiſt) forged ſeveral things under Plato's name, but conformable to Chriſtianity, by which the heathens were fraudulently converted.

Epicurus was the greateſt of all free-thinkers, and conſequently the moſt virtuous man in the world. His opinions in religion were the moſt complete ſyſtem of atheiſm that ever appeared. Chriſtians ought to have the greateſt veneration for him, becauſe he taught a higher point of virtue than Chriſt; I mean, the virtue of friendſhip, which, in the ſenſe we uſually underſtand it, is not ſo much as named in the New Teſtament.

Plutarch was a free-thinker, notwithſtanding his being a prieſt; but indeed he was a heathen prieſt. His free-thinking appears by ſhewing the innocence of atheiſm (which at worſt is only falſe reaſoning) and the miſchiefs of ſuperſtition; and he explains what ſuperſtition is, by calling it a conceit of immortal ills after death, the opinion of hell-torments, dreadful aſpects, doleful groans, and the like. He is likewiſe very ſatirical upon the public forms of devotion in his own country, a qualification abſolutely neceſſary to a free-thinker; yet thoſe forms which he ridicules, are the very ſame that now paſs for true worſhip in almoſt all countries: I am ſure, ſome of them do ſo in ours; ſuch as abject looks, diſtortions, wry faces, beggarly tones, humiliation, and contrition.

Varro, the moſt learned among the Romans, was a free-thinker; for he ſaid, the heathen divinity contained many fables below the dignity of immortal beings; ſuch for inſtance as Gods begotten and proceeding from other Gods. Theſe two words I deſire you will particularly remark, becauſe

becauſe they are the very terms made uſe of by our prieſts in their doctrine of the Trinity. He ſays likewiſe, that there are many things falſe in religion, and ſo ſay all free-thinkers; but then he adds, "which the vulgar ought not to know, but "it is expedient they ſhould believe." In this laſt he indeed diſcovers the whole ſecret of a ſtateſman and politician, by denying the vulgar the privilege of free-thinking; and here I differ from him. However, it is manifeſt from hence, that the Trinity was an invention of ſtateſmen and politicians.

The grave and wiſe Cato the Cenſor will for ever live in that noble free-thinking ſaying—"I "wonder," ſaid he, "how one of your prieſts "can forbear laughing when he ſees another!" For, contempt of prieſts is another grand characteriſtic of a free-thinker. This ſhews that Cato underſtood the whole myſtery of the Roman "re-"ligion as by law eſtabliſhed." I beg you, Sir, not to overlook theſe laſt words, "religion as by "law eſtabliſhed." I tranſlate *haruſpex* into the general word, *prieſt*. Thus I apply the ſentence to our prieſts in England; and, when Dr. Smallridge ſees Dr. Atterbury, I wonder how either of them can forbear laughing at the cheat they put upon the people, by making them believe their "reli-"gion as by law eſtabliſhed."

Cicero, that conſummate philoſopher and noble patriot, though he was a prieſt, and conſequently more likely to be a knave, gave the greateſt proofs of his free-thinking. Firſt, he profeſſed the ſceptic philoſophy,

philoſophy, which doubts of every thing. Then, he wrote two treatiſes; in the firſt, he ſhews the weakneſs of the Stoicks' arguments for the being of the Gods: in the latter he has deſtroyed the whole revealed religion of the Greeks and Romans; for why ſhould not theirs be a revealed religion as well as that of Chriſt? Cicero likewiſe tells us, as his own opinion, that they who ſtudy philoſophy do not believe there are any Gods: he denies the immortality of the ſoul, and ſays, there can be nothing after death.

And becauſe the prieſts have the impudence to quote Cicero, in their pulpits and pamphlets, againſt free-thinking; I am reſolved to diſarm them of his authority. You muſt know, his philoſophical works are generally in dialogues, where people are brought in diſputing againſt one another. Now the prieſts, when they ſee an argument to prove a God, offered perhaps by a Stoick, are ſuch knaves or blockheads, to quote it as if it were Cicero's own; whereas Cicero was ſo noble a free-thinker, that he believed nothing at all of the matter, nor ever ſhews the leaſt inclination to favour ſuperſtition, or the belief of God, and the immortality of the ſoul; unleſs what he throws out ſometimes to ſave himſelf from danger, in his ſpeeches to the Roman mob; whoſe religion was, however, much more innocent, and leſs abſurd, than that of popery at leaſt: and I could ſay more—but you underſtand me.

Seneca was a great free-thinker, and had a noble notion of the worſhip of the Gods, for which our

prieſts would call any man an atheiſt: he laughs at morning devotions, or worſhipping upon Sabbath-days; he ſays, God has no need of miniſters and ſervants, becauſe he himſelf ſerves mankind. This religious man, like his religious brethren the Stoicks, denies the immortality of the ſoul; and ſays, all that is feigned to be ſo terrible in hell is but a fable: death puts an end to all our miſery, &c. Yet the prieſts were antiently ſo fond of Seneca, that they forged a correſpondence of letters between him and St. Paul.

Solomon himſelf, whoſe writings are called "the "word of God," was ſuch a free-thinker, that if he were now alive, nothing but his building of churches could have kept our prieſts from calling him an atheiſt. He affirms the eternity of the world almoſt in the ſame manner with Manilius the heathen philoſophical poet, which opinion entirely overthrows the hiſtory of the creation by Moſes, and all the New Teſtament: he denies the immortality of the ſoul, aſſures us, "that men die "like beaſts," and "that both go to one place."

The prophets of the Old Teſtament were generally free-thinkers. You muſt underſtand, that their way of learning to propheſy was by muſic and drinking. Theſe prophets wrote againſt the eſtabliſhed religion of the Jews (which thoſe people looked upon as the inſtitution of God himſelf) as if they believed it was all a cheat: that is to ſay, with as great liberty againſt the prieſts and prophets of Iſrael, as Dr. Tindal did lately againſt the prieſts and prophets of our Iſrael, who has clearly ſhewn them

them and their religion to be cheats. To prove this, you may read ſeveral paſſages in Iſaiah, Ezekiel, Amos, Jeremiah, &c. wherein you will find ſuch inſtances of free-thinking, that, if any Engliſhman had talked ſo in our days, their opinions would have been regiſtered in Dr. Sacheverell's trial, and in the repreſentation of the lower houſe of convocation, and produced as ſo many proofs of the prophaneneſs, blaſphemy, and atheiſm of the nation; there being nothing more prophane, blaſphemous, or atheiſtical, in thoſe repreſentations, than what theſe prophets have ſpoken, whoſe writings are yet called by our prieſts "the "word of God." And therefore theſe prophets are as much atheiſts as myſelf, or as any of my free-thinking brethren whom I lately named to you.

Joſephus was a great free-thinker. I wiſh he had choſen a better ſubject to write on, than thoſe ignorant, barbarous, ridiculous ſcoundrels the Jews, whom God (if we may believe the prieſts) thought fit to chooſe for his own people. I will give you ſome inſtances of his free-thinking. He ſays, Cain travelled through ſeveral countries, and kept company with rakes and profligate fellows; he corrupted the ſimplicities of former times, &c. which plainly ſuppoſes men before Adam, and conſequently that the prieſts' hiſtory of the creation by Moſes, is an impoſture. He ſays, the Iſraelites paſſing through the Red Sea, was no more than Alexander's paſſing at the Pamphilian ſea; that as for the appearance of God at Mount Sinai, the

reader

reader may believe it as he pleaſes; that Moſes perſuaded the Jews, he had God for his guide, juſt as the Greeks pretended they had their laws from Apollo. Theſe are noble ſtrains of free-thinking, which the prieſts know not how to ſolve, but by thinking as freely; for one of them ſays, that Joſephus wrote this, to make his work acceptable to the heathens, by ſtriking out every thing that was incredible.

Origen, who was the firſt Chriſtian that had any learning, has left a noble teſtimony of his free-thinking; for a general council has determined him to be damned; which plainly ſhews he was a free-thinker, and was no ſaint: for, people were only ſainted becauſe of their want of learning and exceſs of zeal; ſo that all the fathers who are called ſaints by the prieſts, were worſe than atheiſts.

Minutius Felix ſeems to be a true, modern, latitudinarian, free-thinking Chriſtian; for he is againſt altars, churches, public preaching, and public aſſemblies; and likewiſe againſt prieſts; for, he ſays, there were ſeveral great flouriſhing empires before there were any orders of prieſts in the world.

Syneſius, who had too much learning and too little zeal for a ſaint, was for ſome time a great free-thinker; he could not believe the reſurrection till he was made a biſhop, and then pretended to be convinced by a lying miracle.

To come to our own country! My lord Bacon was a great free-thinker, when he tells us, "that "whatever

" whatever has the leaſt relation to religion is par-
" ticularly liable to ſuſpicion;" by which he ſeems to ſuſpect all the facts whereon moſt of the ſuperſtitions (that is to ſay, what the prieſts call the religions) of the world are grounded. He alſo prefers atheiſm before ſuperſtition.

Mr. Hobbes was a perſon of great learning, virtue, and free-thinking, except in his high-church politicks.

But archbiſhop Tillotſon is the perſon whom all Engliſh free-thinkers own as their head; and his virtue is indiſputable for this manifeſt reaſon, that Dr. Hickes, a prieſt, calls him an atheiſt; ſays, he cauſed ſeveral to turn atheiſts, and to ridicule the prieſthood and religion. Theſe muſt be allowed to be noble effects of free-thinking. This great prelate aſſures us, that all the duties of the Chriſtian religion, with reſpect to God, are no other but what natural light prompt men to, except the two ſacraments, and praying to God in the name and mediation of Chriſt. As a prieſt and prelate, he was obliged to ſay ſomething of Chriſtianity; but pray obſerve, Sir, how he brings himſelf off. He juſtly affirms, that even theſe things are of leſs moment than natural duties; and becauſe mothers nurſing their children is a natural duty, it is of more moment than the two ſacraments, or than praying to God in the name and by the mediation of Chriſt. This free-thinking archbiſhop could not allow a miracle ſufficient to give credit to a prophet, who taught any thing contrary to our natural notions:

tions: by which, it is plain, he rejected at once all the myſteries of Chriſtianity.

I could name one-and-twenty more great men, who were all free-thinkers; but that I fear to be tedious: for it is certain that all men of ſenſe depart from the opinions commonly received; and are conſequently more or leſs men of ſenſe, according as they depart more or leſs from the opinions commonly received: neither can you name an enemy to free-thinking, however he be dignified or diſtinguiſhed, whether archbiſhop, biſhop, prieſt, or deacon, who has not been either "a crack-"brained enthuſiaſt, a diabolical villain, or a moſt "profound ignorant brute."

Thus, Sir, I have endeavoured to execute your commands, and you may print this Letter if you pleaſe: but I would have you conceal your name. For my opinion of virtue is, that we ought not to venture doing ourſelves harm, by endeavouring to do good. I am,

Yours, &c.

CONCLUSION

I HAVE here given the public a brie faithful abſtract of this moſt excellent wherein I have all along religiouſly adhered author's notions, and generally to his words, out any other addition than that of explai few neceſſary conſequences, for the ſake of rant readers; for, to thoſe who have the le gree of learning, I own, they will be wholl leſs. I hope I have not, in any ſingle in miſrepreſented the thoughts of this adm writer. If I have happened to miſtake th inadvertency, I entreat he will condeſcend form me, and point out the place; upon wh will immediately beg pardon both of him ar world. The deſign of his piece is to recom free-thinking; and one chief motive is the ex of many excellent men who were of that ſect produces as the principal points of their free-thin that they denied the being of a God, the tor of hell, the immortality of the ſoul, the T incarnation, the hiſtory of the creation by M with many other ſuch "fabulous and blaſphe "ſtories," as he judiciouſly calls them: an aſſerts, that whoever denies the moſt of theſe, completeſt free-thinker, and conſequently the and moſt virtuous man.

The author, ſenſible of the prejudices of th does not directly affirm himſelf an atheiſt; h

ther than to pronounce that atheiſm is the erfect degree of free-thinking; and leaves the to form the concluſion. However, he ſeems ow, that a man may be a tolerable free- r, though he does believe a God; provided erly rejects "providence, revelation, the and New Teſtament, future rewards and iſhments, the immortality of the ſoul," and he like impoſſible abſurdities. Which mark erabundant caution, ſacrificing truth to the ition of prieſts, may perhaps be forgiven, ght not to be imitated by any who would (even in this author's judgment) at the true ion of free-thinking.

A

LETTER

TO

A MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT IN IRELAND,

Upon chuſing a new SPEAKER there.

Written in the Year 1708.

SIR,

YOU may eaſily believe I am not at all ſurprized at what you tell me, ſince it is but a confirmation of my own conjecture that I ſent you laſt week, and made you my reproaches upon at a venture. It looks exceedingly ſtrange, yet I believe it to be a great truth, that in order to carry a point in your houſe, the two following circumſtances are of great advantage: firſt, to have an ill cauſe; and, ſecondly, to be a minority. For both theſe circumſtances, are extremely apt to invite men, to make them aſſiduous in their attendance, watchful of opportunities, zealous for gaining over proſelytes, and often ſucceſsful; which is not to be wondered at, when favour and intereſt are on the ſide of their opinion. Whereas, on the contrary, a majority with a good cauſe are, negligent and ſupine. They think it ſufficient to declare themſelves upon opinion in favour of their party;

but, failing againſt the tide of favour and preferment, they are eaſily ſcattered and driven back. In ſhort, they want a common principle to cement, and motive to ſpirit them: for, the bare acting upon a principle from the dictates of a good conſcience, or proſpect of ſerving the public, will not go very far under the preſent diſpoſitions of mankind. This was amply verified laſt ſeſſion of parliament, upon occaſion of the money-bill, the merits of which I ſhall not pretend to examine. It is enough, that upon the firſt news of its tranſmiſſion hither, in the form in which it afterwards appeared, the members, upon diſcourſe with their friends, ſeemed unanimous againſt it; I mean thoſe of both parties, except a few, who were looked upon as perſons ready to go any lengths preſcribed them by the court. Yet, with only a weak canvaſſing among a very few hands, the bill paſſed, after a full debate, by a very great majority. Yet, I believe, you will hardly attempt perſuading me, or any body elſe, that one man in ten, of thoſe who changed their language, were moved by reaſons any way affecting the merits of the cauſe, but merely through hope, fear, indolence, or good-manners. Nay, I have been aſſured from good hands, that there was ſtill a number ſufficient to make a majority againſt the bill, if they had not apprehended the other ſide to be ſecure; and therefore thought it imprudence, by declaring themſelves, to diſoblige the government to no purpoſe.

Reflecting upon this, and forty other paſſages, in the ſeveral houſes of commons ſince the Revo-

lution, makes me apt to think, there is nothing a chief governor can be commanded to attempt here, wherein he may not ſucceed, with a very competent ſhare of addreſs, and with ſuch aſſiſtance, as he will always find ready at his devotion. And therefore I repeat what I ſaid at firſt, that I am not at all ſurprized at what you tell me. For, if there had been the leaſt ſpark of public ſpirit left, thoſe who wiſhed well to their country, and its conſtitution in church and ſtate, ſhould, upon the firſt news of the late ſpeaker's promotion, (and you and I know it might have been done a great deal ſooner) have immediately gone together, and conſulted about the fitteſt perſon to ſucceed him. But, by all I can comprehend, you have been ſo far from proceeding thus, that it hardly ever came into any of your heads. And the reaſon you give, is the worſt in the world: That none offered themſelves, and you knew not whom to pitch upon. It ſeems, however, the other party was more reſolved, or at leaſt not ſo modeſt: for, you ſay, your vote is engaged againſt your opinion, and ſeveral gentlemen in my neighbourhood tell me the ſame ſtory of themſelves. This, I confeſs, is of an unuſual ſtrain, and a good many ſteps below any condeſcenſions a court will, I hope, ever require from you. I ſhall not trouble myſelf to inquire who is the perſon, for whom you and others are engaged, or whether there be more candidates from that ſide than one. You tell me nothing of either; and I never thought it worth the queſtion to any body elſe. But, in ſo weighty an affair, and againſt your judgment, I

cannot look upon you as irrecoverably determined. Therefore I desire you will give me leave to reason with you a little upon the subject; lest your compliance, or inadvertency, should put you upon what you may have cause to repent of, as long as you live.

You know very well, the great business of the high-flying Whigs, at this juncture, is, to endeavour a repeal of the Test clause. You know likewise that the moderate men, both of high and low-church, profess to be wholly averse from this design, as thinking it beneath the policy of common gardeners, to cut down the only hedge that shelters from the North. Now I will put the case: If the person to whom you have promised your vote, be one, of whom you have the least apprehension that he will promote or assent to the repealing of that clause, whether it be decent or proper he should be the mouth of an assembly, whereof a very great majority pretend to abhor his opinion! Can a body, whose mouth and heart must go so contrary ways, ever act with sincerity, or hardly with consistency? Such a man is no proper vehicle to retain or convey the sense of the house, which, in so many points of the greatest moment, will be directly contrary to his. It is full as absurd, as to prefer a man to a bishoprick, who denies revealed religion. But it may possibly be a great deal worse. What if the person, you design to vote into that important post, should not only be a declared enemy of the sacramental test, but should prove to be a solicitor, an encourager, or even a penner of

addreſſes to complain of it? Do you think it ſo indifferent a thing, that a promiſe of courſe, the effect of compliance, importunity, ſhame of refuſing, or any the like motive, ſhall oblige you paſt the power of retracting?

Perhaps you will tell me, as ſome have already had the weakneſs, that it is of little importance to either party, to have a ſpeaker of their ſide, his buſineſs being only to take the ſenſe of the houſe, and report it; that you often, at committees, put an able ſpeaker into the chair, on purpoſe to prevent him from ſtopping a bill. Why, if it were no more than this, I believe I ſhould hardly chooſe, even among my footmen, ſuch a one to deliver a meſſage, whoſe intereſt and opinion led him to wiſh it might miſcarry. But I remember to have heard colonel Birch of Herefordſhire ſay, "That "he was a very ſorry ſpeaker, whoſe ſingle vote "was not better than fifty common ones." I am ſure it is reckoned in England, the firſt great teſt of the prevalency of either party in the houſe. Sir Thomas Lyttelton thought that a houſe of commons with a ſtinking breath, (ſuppoſing the ſpeaker to be the mouth) would go near to infect every thing within the walls, and a great deal without. It is the ſmalleſt part of an able ſpeaker's buſineſs what he performs in the houſe; at leaſt if he be in with the court, when it is hard to ſay, how many converts may be made, in a circle of dinners or private cabals. And you and I eaſily call to mind a gentleman in that ſtation in England, who, by his own arts, and perſonal credit, was able to

draw

draw over a majority, and change the whole power of a prevailing ſide, in a nice juncture of affairs, and make a parliament expire in one party, who had lived in another.

I am far from an inclination to multiply party-cauſes; but ſurely the beſt of us, can with very ill grace make that an objection, who has not been ſo nice in matters of much leſs importance. Yet I have heard ſome perſons of both ſides gravely deliver themſelves in this manner: "Why ſhould we "make the chooſing of a ſpeaker a party-cauſe? "Let us fix upon one, who is well verſed in the "practices and methods of parliament." And I believe, there are too many who would talk at the ſame rate, if the queſtion were not only about aboliſhing the ſacramental teſt, but the ſacrament itſelf.

But, ſuppoſe the principles of the moſt artful ſpeaker would have no influence, either to obtain, or obſtruct any point in parliament; who can anſwer what effects ſuch a choice may produce without doors? It is obvious how ſuch a matter ſerves to raiſe the ſpirits and hopes of the Diſſenters, and their high-flying advocates; what lengths they run, what concluſions they form, and what hopes they entertain. Do they hear of a new friend in office? that is encouragement enough to practiſe the city, againſt the opinion of a majority, into an addreſs to the queen for repealing the ſacramental teſt; or iſſue out their orders to the next fanatic parſon, to furbiſh up his old ſermons, and preach and print new ones directly againſt Epiſcopacy. I would

lay a good wager, that if the choice of a new ſpeaker, ſucceeds exactly to their liking, we ſhall ſee it ſoon followed by many new attempts, either in the form of pamphlet, ſermon, or addreſs, to the ſame, or perhaps more dangerous purpoſes.

Suppoſing the ſpeaker's office to be only an employment of profit and honour, and a ſtep to a better; ſince it is in your own gift, will you not chooſe to beſtow it upon ſome perſon, whoſe principles the majority of you pretends to approve, if it were only to be ſure of a worthy man hereafter, in a high ſtation, on the bench, or at the bar?

I confeſs, if it were a thing poſſible to be compaſſed, it would ſeem moſt reaſonable, to fill the chair with ſome perſon, who would be entirely devoted to neither party: but, ſince there are ſo few of that character, and thoſe either unqualified or unfriended, I cannot ſee how a majority will anſwer it to their reputation, to be ſo ill provided of able perſons, that they muſt have recourſe to their adverſaries for a leader; a proceeding, of which I never met with above one example, and even that ſucceeded but ill, though it was recommended by an oracle; which adviſed ſome city in Greece to beg a general from their enemies, who, in ſcorn, ſent them either a fiddler or a poet, I have forgotten which; and ſo much I remember, that his conduct was ſuch, that they ſoon grew weary of him.

You pretend to be heartily reſolved againſt repealing the ſacramental teſt; yet at the ſame time, give the only great employment you have to diſpoſe

ıf, to a perſon, who will take that teſt againſt
:h, (by which word I underſtand many a
conſcience) who earneſtly wiſhes it repealed,
vill endeavour it to the utmoſt of his power;
t the firſt action after you meet, will be a
ıf contravention to that teſt: and will any
go farther than your practice, to judge of
principles?

d now I am upon this ſubject, I cannot con-
without ſaying ſomething to a very popular
ıent againſt that ſacramental teſt, which may
: to ſhake many of thoſe, who would other-
wiſh well enough to it. They ſay, it was a
ıardſhip put upon the Diſſenters, without any
cation; and, it is plain, could be no way
ary, becauſe we had peaceably lived together
g without it. They add ſome other circum-
s, of the arts by which it was obtained, and
rſon by whom it was inſerted. Surely ſuch
e do not conſider, that the penal laws againſt
ıters, were made wholly ineffectual, by the
vance and mercy of the government; ſo that
ıployments of the ſtate, lay as open to them,
ey did to the beſt and moſt legal ſubjects.
what progreſs they would have made, by the
.tages of a late conjunction, is obvious to
ne; which I take to be a full anſwer to that
:ion,

emember, upon the tranſmiſſion of that bill
the teſt-clauſe inſerted, the Diſſenters and
partizans, among other topicks, ſpoke much
e good effects produced by the lenity of the
govern-

ment: that the Preſbyterians were grown very inconſiderable in their number and quality, and would daily come into the church, if we did not fright them from it by new ſeverities. When the act was paſſed, they preſently changed their ſtyle, and raiſed a clamour through both kingdoms, of the great numbers of conſiderable gentry who were laid aſide, and could no longer ſerve their queen and country: which hyperbolical way of reckoning, when it came to be melted down into truth, amounted to about fifteen country juſtices, moſt of them of the loweſt ſize, for eſtate, quality, or underſtanding. However, this puts me in mind of a paſſage told me by a great man, although I know not whether it be any where recorded: That a complaint was made to the king and council of Sweden, of a prodigious ſwarm of Scots, who, under the condition of pedlars, infeſted that kingdom to ſuch a degree, as, if not ſuddenly prevented, might in time prove dangerous to the ſtate, by joining with any diſcontented party. Mean while the Scots, by their agents, placed a good ſum of money, to engage the officers of the prime miniſter in their behalf; who, in order to their defence, told the council, "He was aſſured they "were but a few inconſiderable people, that lived "honeſtly and poorly, and were not of any con-"ſequence." Their enemies offered to prove the contrary: whereupon an order was made to take their numbers, which was found to amount, as I remember, to about thirty thouſand. The affair was again brought before the council, and great reproaches

reproaches made to the firſt miniſter for his ill computation; who, preſently taking the other handle, ſaid, "He had reaſon to believe, the num-"ber yet greater than what was returned;" and then gravely offered to the king's conſideration, "Whe-"ther it was ſafe to render deſperate ſo great a "body of able men, who had little to loſe, and "whom any hard treatment, would only ſerve to "unite into a power capable of diſturbing, if not "deſtroying, the peace of the kingdom." And ſo they were ſuffered to continue.

SOME FEW

THOUGHTS

CONCERNING

THE REPEAL OF THE TEST.

THOSE of either ſide who have written upon this ſubject of the teſt, in making or anſwering objections, ſeem to fail, by not preſſing ſufficiently the chief point, upon which the controverſy turns. The arguments uſed by thoſe who write for the church, are very good in their kind; but will have little force under the preſent corruptions of mankind, becauſe the authors treat this ſubject *tanquam in republicâ Platonis, et non in fæce Romuli.*

It muſt be confeſſed, that conſidering how few employments of any conſequence, fall to the ſhare of thoſe Engliſh who are born in this kingdom, and thoſe few very dearly purchaſed, at the expence of conſcience, liberty, and all regard for the public good, they are not worth contending for: and if nothing but profit were in the caſe, it would hardly coſt me one ſigh, when I ſhould ſee thoſe few ſcraps thrown among every ſpecies of fanaticks, to ſcuffle for among themſelves.

And this will infallibly be the caſe, after repealing the teſt. For every ſubdiviſion of ſect will, with

with equal juſtice, pretend to have a ſhare; and, as it is uſual with ſharers, will never think they have enough, while any pretender is left unprovided. I ſhall not except the Quakers; becauſe, when the paſſage is once let open for ſects to partake in public emoluments, it is very probable the lawfulneſs of taking oaths, and wearing carnal weapons, may be revealed to the brotherhood: which thought, I confeſs, was firſt put into my head by one of the ſhrewdeſt Quakers in this kingdom.

A

TREATISE

ON

GOOD-MANNERS

AND

GOOD-BREEDING.

GOOD-MANNERS is the art of making thoſe people eaſy with whom we converſe.

Whoever makes the feweſt perſons uneaſy is the beſt-bred in the company.

As the beſt law is founded upon reaſon, ſo are the beſt manners. And as ſome lawyers have introduced unreaſonable things into common-law, ſo likewiſe many teachers have introduced abſurd things into common good-manners.

One principal point of this art is, to ſuit our behaviour to the three ſeveral degrees of men; our ſuperiors, our equals, and thoſe below us.

For inſtance, to preſs either of the two former to eat or drink, is a breach of manners; but a tradeſman or a farmer muſt be thus treated, or elſe it will be difficult to perſuade them that they are welcome.

Pride, ill-nature, and want of ſenſe, are the three great ſources of ill-manners; without ſome

one

one of theſe defects, no man will behave himſelf ill for want of experience, or of what, in the language of fools, is called knowing the world.

I defy any one to aſſign an incident wherein reaſon will not direct us what we are to ſay or do in company, if we are not miſled by pride or ill-nature.

Therefore I inſiſt that good ſenſe is the principal foundation of good-manners; but, becauſe the former is a gift which very few among mankind are poſſeſſed of, therefore all the civilized nations of the world have agreed upon fixing ſome rules upon common behaviour, beſt ſuited to their general cuſtoms or fancies, as a kind of artificial good ſenſe, to ſupply the defects of reaſon. Without which the gentlemenly part of dunces would be perpetually at cuffs, as they ſeldom fail when they happen to be drunk, or engaged in ſquabbles about women or play. And, God be thanked, there hardly happens a duel in a year, which may not be imputed to one of theſe three motives. Upon which account, I ſhould be exceedingly ſorry to find the legiſlature make any new laws againſt the practice of duelling; becauſe the methods are eaſy, and many, for a wiſe man to avoid a quarrel with honour, or engage in it with innocence. And I can diſcover no political evil in ſuffering bullies, ſharpers, and rakes, to rid the world of each other by a method of their own, where the law has not been able to find an expedient.

As the common forms of good-manners were intended for regulating the conduct of thoſe who

have

have weak underſtandings; ſo they have been corrupted by the perſons for whoſe uſe they were contrived. For theſe people have fallen into a needleſs and endleſs way of multiplying ceremonies, which have been extremely troubleſome to thoſe who practiſe them, and inſupportable to every body elſe: inſomuch that wiſe men are often more uneaſy at the over-civility of theſe refiners, than they could poſſibly be in the converſations of peaſants or mechanicks.

The impertinencies of this ceremonial behaviour are no where better ſeen than at thoſe tables where the ladies preſide, who value themſelves upon account of their good-breeding; where a man muſt reckon upon paſſing an hour without doing any one thing he has a mind to; unleſs he will be ſo hardy as to break through all the ſettled decorum of the family. She determines what he loves beſt, and how much he ſhall eat; and if the maſter of the houſe happens to be of the ſame diſpoſition, he proceeds, in the ſame tyrannical manner, to preſcribe in the drinking part: at the ſame time you are under the neceſſity of anſwering a thouſand apologies for your entertainment. And although a good deal of this humour is pretty well worn off among many people of the beſt faſhion, yet too much of it ſtill remains, eſpecially in the country; where an honeſt gentleman aſſured me, that having been kept four days againſt his will at a friend's houſe, with all the circumſtances of hiding his boots, locking up the ſtable, and other contrivances of the like nature, he could not remember, from the

the moment he came into the houſe to the moment he left it, any one thing, wherein his inclination was not directly contradicted; as if the whole family had entered into a combination to torment him.

But, beſide all this, it would be endleſs to recount the many fooliſh and ridiculous accidents I have obſerved among theſe unfortunate proſelytes to ceremony. I have ſeen a ducheſs fairly knocked down, by the precipitancy of an officious coxcomb running to ſave her the trouble of opening a door. I remember upon a birth-day at court, a great lady was utterly diſconſolate by a diſh of ſauce let fall by a page directly upon her head-dreſs and brocade, while ſhe gave a ſudden turn to her elbow upon ſome point of ceremony with the perſon who ſat next to her. Monſieur Buys, the Dutch envoy, whoſe politicks and manners were much of a ſize, brought a ſon with him, about thirteen years old, to a great table at court. The boy and his father, whatever they put on their plates, they firſt offered round in order, to every perſon in company; ſo that we could not get a minute's quiet during the whole dinner. At laſt their two plates happened to encounter, and with ſo much violence, that, being china, they broke in twenty pieces; and ſtained half the company with wet ſweet-meats and cream.

There is a pedantry in manners, as in all arts and ſciences; and ſometimes in trades. Pedantry is properly the over-rating of any kind of know-

ledge we pretend to. And if that kind of knowledge be a trifle in itſelf, the pedantry is the greater. For which reaſon I look upon fiddlers, dancing-maſters, heralds, maſters of the ceremony, &c. to be greater pedants than Lipſius, or the elder Scaliger. With this kind of pedants, the court, while I knew it, was always plentifully ſtocked; I mean from the gentleman-uſher (at leaſt) incluſive, downward to the gentleman-porter: who are, generally ſpeaking, the moſt inſignificant race of people that this iſland can afford, and with the ſmalleſt tincture of good-manners; which is the only trade they profeſs. For, being wholly illiterate, and converſing chiefly with each other, they reduce the whole ſyſtem of breeding within the forms and circles of their ſeveral offices: and, as they are below the notice of miniſters, they live and die in court under all revolutions, with great obſequiouſneſs to thoſe who are in any degree of credit or favour, and with rudeneſs and inſolence to every body elſe. Whence I have long concluded, that good-manners are not a plant of the court growth: for if they were, thoſe people, who have underſtandings directly of a level for ſuch acquirements, who have ſerved ſuch long apprenticeſhips to nothing elſe, would certainly have picked them up. For, as to the great officers, who attend the prince's perſon or councils, or preſide in his family, they are a tranſient body, who have no better a title to good-manners than their neighbours, nor will probably have recourſe to gentlemen-uſhers for inſtruction. So that I know little to be learned at court upon

is head, except in the material circumſtance of eſs; wherein the authority of the maids of ho-ur muſt indeed be allowed to be almoſt equal to at of a favourite actreſs.

I remember a paſſage my lord Bolingbroke told :; that going to receive prince Eugene of Savoy his landing, in order to conduct him imme-tely to the queen, the prince ſaid, he was much ıcerned that he could not ſee her majeſty that ght; for Monſieur Hoffman (who was then by) d aſſured his highneſs that he could not be ad-tted into her preſence with a tied-up perriwig; ıt his equipage was not arrived; and that he had deavoured in vain to borrow a long one among his valets and pages. My lord turned the mat-into a jeſt, and brought the prince to her ma-ty; for which he was highly cenſured by the ıole tribe of gentlemen-uſhers; among whom onſieur Hoffman, an old dull reſident of the ıperor's, had picked up this material point of :emony; and which, I believe, was the beſt ſon he had learned in five and twenty years ſidence.

I make a difference between good-manners and od-breeding; although, in order to vary my preſſion, I am ſometimes forced to confound em. By the firſt, I only underſtand the art of membering and applying certain ſettled forms of neral behaviour. But good-breeding is of a uch larger extent; for, beſide an uncommon gree of literature ſufficient to qualify a gentleman r reading a play or a political pamphlet, it takes

in a great compaſs of knowledge; no leſs than that of dancing, fighting, gaming, making the circle of Italy, riding the great horſe, and ſpeaking French; not to mention ſome other ſecondary or ſubaltern accompliſhments, which are more eaſily acquired. So that the difference between good-breeding and good-manners lies in this; that the former cannot be attained to by the beſt underſtandings without ſtudy and labour: whereas a tolerable degree of reaſon will inſtruct us in every part of good-manners, without other aſſiſtance.

I can think of nothing more uſeful upon this ſubject, than to point out ſome particulars, wherein the very eſſentials of good-manners are concerned, the neglect or perverting of which does very much diſturb the good commerce of the world, by introducing a traffick of mutual uneaſineſs in moſt companies.

Firſt, a neceſſary part of good-manners is a punctual obſervance of time at our own dwellings, or thoſe of others, or at third places; whether upon matter of civility, buſineſs, or diverſion; which rule, though it be a plain dictate of common reaſon, yet the greateſt miniſter I ever knew was the greateſt treſpaſſer againſt it; by which all his buſineſs doubled upon him, and placed him in a continual arrear. Upon which I often uſed to railly him, as deficient in point of good-manners. I have known more than one ambaſſador, and ſecretary of ſtate, with a very moderate portion of intellectuals, execute their offices with good ſucceſs and applauſe, by the mere force of exactneſs and

egularity. If you duly obſerve time for the ſervice of another, it doubles the obligation; if upon your own account, it would be manifeſt folly, as well as ingratitude, to neglect it; if both are concerned, to make your equal or inferior attend on you to his own diſadvantage, is pride and injuſtice.

Ignorance of forms cannot properly be ſtiled ill-manners; becauſe forms are ſubject to frequent changes; and conſequently, being not founded upon reaſon, are beneath a wiſe man's regard. Beſides, they vary in every country; and after a ſhort period of time, very frequently in the ſame; ſo that a man, who travels, muſt needs be at firſt a ſtranger to them in every court through which he paſſes; and, perhaps, at his return, as much a ſtranger in his own; and after all, they are eaſier to be remembered or forgotten than faces or names.

Indeed, among the many impertinencies that ſuperficial young men bring with them from abroad, this bigotry of forms is one of the principal, and more predominant than the reſt; who look upon them not only as if they were matters capable of admitting of choice, but even as points of importance; and are therefore zealous upon all occaſions to introduce and propagate the new forms and faſhions they have brought back with them: So that, uſually ſpeaking, the worſt-bred perſon in company, is a young traveller juſt returned from abroad.

ON THE

DEATH

OF

MRS. JOHNSON [STELLA].

THIS day, being Sunday, January 28th, 1727-8, about eight o'clock at night, a ſervant brought me a note, with an account of the death of the trueſt, moſt virtuous, and valuable friend, that I, or perhaps any other perſon, was ever bleſſed with. She expired about ſix in the evening of this day; and as ſoon as I am left alone, which is about eleven at night, I reſolve, for my own ſatisfaction, to ſay ſomething of her life and character.

She was born at Richmond in Surry, on the thirteenth day of March, in the year 1681. Her father was a younger brother of a good family in Nottinghamſhire, her mother of a lower degree; and indeed ſhe had little to boaſt of her birth. I knew her from ſix years old, and had ſome ſhare in her education, by directing what books ſhe ſhould read, and perpetually inſtructing her in the principles of honour and virtue; from which ſhe never ſwerved in any one action or moment of her life. She was ſickly from her childhood until about the age of fifteen, but then grew into perfect health, and was looked upon as one of the moſt

moſt beautiful, graceful, and agreeable young women in London, only a little too fat. Her hair was blacker than a raven, and every feature of her face in perfection. She lived generally in the country, with a family where ſhe contracted an intimate friendſhip with another lady, of more advanced years. I was then, to my mortification, ſettled in Ireland; and about a year after, going to viſit my friends in England, I found ſhe was a little uneaſy upon the death of a perſon on whom ſhe had ſome dependance. Her fortune, at that time, was in all not above fifteen hundred pounds, the intereſt of which was but a ſcanty maintenance, in ſo dear a country, for one of her ſpirit. Upon this conſideration, and indeed very much for my own ſatisfaction, who had few friends or acquaintance in Ireland, I prevailed with her and her dear friend and companion, the other lady, to draw what money they had into Ireland, a great part of their fortune being in annuities upon funds. Money was then at ten *per cent.* in Ireland, beſide the advantage of returning it, aud all neceſſaries of life at half the price. They complied with my advice, and ſoon after came over; but I happening to continue ſome time longer in England, they were much diſcouraged to live in Dublin, where they were wholly ſtrangers. She was at that time about nineteen years old, and her perſon was ſoon diſtinguiſhed. But the adventure looked ſo like a frolick, the cenſure held, for ſome time, as if there were a ſecret hiſtory in ſuch a removal; which, however, ſoon blew off by her excellent

conduct. She came over with her friend on the in the year 170—*; and they both lived together until this day, when death removed her from us. For ſome years paſt, ſhe had been viſited with continual ill-health; and ſeveral times, within theſe laſt two years, her life was deſpaired of. But, for this twelvemonth paſt, ſhe never had a day's health; and, properly ſpeaking, ſhe has been dying ſix months, but kept alive, almoſt againſt nature, by the generous kindneſs of two phyſicians and the care of her friends.—Thus far I writ the ſame night between eleven and twelve.

Never was any of her ſex born with better gifts of the mind, or who more improved them by reading and converſation. Yet her memory was not of the beſt, and was impaired in the latter years of her life. But I cannot call to mind that I ever once heard her make a wrong judgment of perſons, books, or affairs. Her advice was always the beſt, and with the greateſt freedom, mixt with the greateſt decency. She had a gracefulneſs, ſomewhat more than human, in every motion, word, and action. Never was ſo happy a conjunction of civility, freedom, eaſineſs, and ſincerity. There ſeemed to be a combination among all that knew her, to treat her with a dignity much beyond her rank: yet people of all ſorts were never more eaſy than in her company. Mr. Addiſon, when he was in Ireland, being introduced to her, immediately found her out: and, if he had not ſoon after left

* Probably 1702.

the

he kingdom, aſſured me he would have uſed all ndeavours to cultivate her friendſhip. A rude or onceited coxcomb paſſed his time very ill, upon he leaſt breach of reſpect; for, in ſuch a caſe, he had no mercy, but was ſure to expoſe him to he contempt of the ſtanders-by; yet in ſuch a nanner as he was aſhamed to complain, and durſt ıot reſent. All of us who had the happineſs of ıer friendſhip agreed unanimouſly, that, in an ıfternoon or evening's converſation, ſhe never ſailed, before we parted, of delivering the beſt hing that was ſaid in the company. Some of us have written down ſeveral of her ſayings, or what the French call Bons Mots, wherein ſhe excelled almoſt beyond belief. She never miſtook the underſtanding of others; nor ever ſaid a ſevere word, but where a much ſeverer was deſerved.

Her ſervants loved, and almoſt adored her at the ſame time. She would, upon occaſions, treat them with freedom: yet her demeanour was ſo awful, that they durſt not fail in the leaſt point of reſpect. She chid them ſeldom; but it was with ſeverity, which had an effect upon them for a long time after.

January 29th. My head aches, and I can write no more.

January 30th. Tueſday.

This is the night of the funeral, which my ſickneſs will not ſuffer me to attend. It is now nine at night; and I am removed into another apartment, that I may not ſee the light in the church,

which is juſt over againſt the window of my bed-chamber.

With all the ſoftneſs of temper that became a lady, ſhe had the perſonal courage of a hero. She and her friend having removed their lodgings to a new houſe, which ſtood ſolitary, a parcel of rogues, armed, attempted the houſe, where there was only one boy: ſhe was then about four-and-twenty: and having been warned to apprehend ſome ſuch attempt, ſhe learned the management of a piſtol; and the other women and ſervants being half-dead with fear, ſhe ſtole ſoftly to her dining-room window, put on a black hood to prevent being ſeen, primed the piſtol freſh, gently lifted up the ſaſh, and taking her aim with the utmoſt preſence of mind, diſcharged the piſtol, loaden with the bullets, into the body of one villain, who ſtood the faireſt mark. The fellow, mortally wounded, was carried off by the reſt, and died the next morning; but his companions could not be found. The duke of Ormond had often drunk her health to me upon that account, and had always a high eſteem for her. She was indeed under ſome apprehenſions of going in a boat, after ſome danger ſhe had narrowly eſcaped by water; but ſhe was reaſoned thoroughly out of it. She was never known to cry out, or diſcover any fear, in a coach or on horſeback; or any uneaſineſs by thoſe ſudden accidents with which moſt of her ſex, either by weakneſs or affectation, appear ſo much diſordered.

She never had the leaſt abſence of mind in converſation, nor given to interruption, or appeared eager

ager to put in her word, by waiting impatiently, ıntil another had done. She ſpoke in a moſt agree- ıble voice, in the plaineſt words, never heſitating :xcept out of modeſty before new faces, where ſhe was ſomewhat reſerved; nor, among her neareſt riends, ever ſpoke much at a time. She was but ittle verſed in the common topicks of female chat; candal, cenſure, and detraction, never came out of her mouth: yet, among a few friends, in pri- rate converſation, ſhe made little ceremony in diſ- :overing her contempt of a coxcomb, and deſcribing ll his follies to the life; but the follies of her own ex, ſhe was rather inclined to extenuate, or to ›ity.

When ſhe was once convinced by open facts of ıny breach of truth or honour, in a perſon of high tation, eſpecially in the church, ſhe could not con- :eal her indignation, nor hear them named with- ut ſhewing her diſpleaſure in her countenance; ›articularly one or two of the latter ſort, whom ſhe ıad known and eſteemed, but deteſted above all nankind, when it was manifeſt, that they had ſa- :rificed thoſe two precious virtues to their ambi- ion, and would much ſooner have forgiven them he common immoralities of the laity.

Her frequent fits of ſickneſs, in moſt parts of her ife, had prevented her from making that progreſs n reading which ſhe would otherwiſe have done. She was vell verſed in the Greek and Roman ſtory, ınd was not unſkilled in that of France and Eng- and. She ſpoke French perfectly, but forgot much ›f it by neglect and ſickneſs. She had read care-

fully

fully all the beſt books of travels, which ſerve to open and enlarge the mind. She underſtood the Platonic and Epicurean philoſophy, and judged very well of the defects of the latter. She made very judicious abſtracts of the beſt books ſhe had read. She underſtood the nature of government, and could point out all the errors of Hobbes, both in that and religion. She had a good inſight into phyſic, and knew ſomewhat of anatomy; in both which, ſhe was inſtructed in her younger days, by an eminent phyſician, who had her long under his care, and bore the higheſt eſteem for her perſon and underſtanding. She had a true taſte of wit and good ſenſe, both in poetry and proſe, and was a perfect good critick of ſtyle: neither was it eaſy to find a more proper or impartial judge, whoſe advice an author might better rely on, if he intended to ſend a thing into the world, provided it was on a ſubject that came within the compaſs of her knowledge. Yet, perhaps, ſhe was ſometimes too ſevere, which is a ſafe and pardonable error. She preſerved her wit, judgment, and vivacity, to the laſt; but often uſed to complain of her memory.

Her fortune, with ſome acceſſion, could not, as I have heard ſay, amount to much more than two thouſand pounds, whereof a great part fell with her life, having been placed upon annuities in England, and one in Ireland.

In a perſon ſo extraordinary, perhaps, it may be pardonable to mention ſome particulars, although of little moment, farther than to ſet forth her character,

acter. Some preſents of gold-pieces being often made to her while ſhe was a girl, by her mother and other friends, on promiſe to keep them; ſhe grew into ſuch a ſpirit of thrift, that, in about three years, they amounted to above two hundred pounds. She uſed to ſhew them with boaſting; but her mother, apprehending ſhe would be cheated of them, prevailed, in ſome months, and with great importunities, to have them put out to intereſt; when, the girl, loſing the pleaſure of ſeeing and counting her gold, which ſhe never failed of doing many times in a day, and deſpairing of heaping up ſuch another treaſure, her humour took the quite contrary turn: ſhe grew careleſs and ſquandering of every new acquiſition, and ſo continued till about two and twenty; when, by advice of ſome friends, and the fright of paying large bills of tradeſmen who enticed her into their debt, ſhe began to reflect upon her own folly, and was never at reſt until ſhe had diſcharged all her ſhop-bills, and refunded herſelf a conſiderable ſum ſhe had run out. After which, by the addition of a few years and a ſuperior underſtanding, ſhe became, and continued all her life, a moſt prudent œconomiſt; yet ſtill with a ſtrong bent to the liberal ſide, wherein ſhe gratified herſelf by avoiding all expence in cloaths (which ſhe ever deſpiſed) beyond what was merely decent. And, although her frequent returns of ſickneſs were very chargeable, except fees to phyſicians, of which ſhe met with ſeveral ſo generous, that ſhe could force nothing on them, (and indeed ſhe muſt otherwiſe have

have been undone) yet ſhe never was without conſiderable ſum of ready money. Inſomuch that upon her death, when her neareſt friends thought her very bare, her executors found in her ſtrong box about a hundred and fifty pounds in gold. She lamented the narrowneſs of her fortune in nothing ſo much, as that it did not enable her to entertain her friends ſo often, and in ſo hoſpitable a manner, as ſhe deſired. Yet they were always welcome; and, while ſhe was in health to direct, were treated with neatneſs and elegance: ſo that the revenues of her and her companion, paſſed for much more conſiderable than they really were. They lived always in lodgings; their domeſticks conſiſted of two maids and one man. She kept an account of all the family expences, from her arrival in Ireland to ſome months before her death; and ſhe would often repine, when looking back upon the annals of her houſhold bills, that every thing neceſſary for life was double the price, while intereſt of money was ſunk almoſt to one half; ſo that the addition made to her fortune, was indeed grown abſolutely neceſſary.

[I ſince writ as I found time.]

But her charity to the poor was a duty not to be diminiſhed, and therefore became a tax upon thoſe tradeſmen, who furniſh the fopperies of other ladies. She bought cloaths as ſeldom as poſſible, and thoſe as plain and cheap as conſiſted with the ſituation ſhe was in; and wore no lace for many years. Either her judgment or fortune was extraordinary, in the choice of thoſe on whom ſhe beſtowed her charity;

charity; for it went farther in doing good than double the ſum from any other hand. And I have heard her ſay, "ſhe always met with gratitude "from the poor:" which muſt be owing to her ſkill in diſtinguiſhing proper objects, as well as her gracious manner in relieving them.

But ſhe had another quality that much delighted her, although it may be thought a kind of check upon her bounty; however, it was a pleaſure ſhe could not reſiſt: I mean, that of making agreeable preſents, wherein I never knew her equal, although it be an affair of as delicate a nature as moſt in the courſe of life. She uſed to define a preſent, "That "it was a gift to a friend of ſomething he wanted, "or was fond of, and which could not be eaſily "gotten for money." I am confident, during my acquaintance with her, ſhe has, in theſe and ſome other kinds of liberality, diſpoſed of to the value of ſeveral hundred pounds. As to preſents made to herſelf, ſhe received them with great unwillingneſs, but eſpecially from thoſe to whom ſhe had ever given any; being, on all occaſions, the moſt diſintereſted mortal I ever knew or heard of.

From her own diſpoſition, at leaſt as much as from the frequent want of health, ſhe ſeldom made any viſits; but her own lodgings, from before twenty years old, were frequented by many perſons of the graver ſort, who all reſpected her highly, upon her good ſenſe, good manners, and converſation. Among theſe were the late Primate Lindſay, Biſhop Lloyd, Biſhop Aſhe, Biſhop Brown, Biſhop Sterne, Biſhop Pulleyn, with ſome others of

of later date; and indeed the greateſt number of her acquaintance was among the clergy. Honour, truth, liberality, good-nature, and modeſty, were the virtues ſhe chiefly poſſeſſed, and moſt valued in her acquaintance; and where ſhe found them, would be ready to allow for ſome defects, nor valued them leſs, although they did not ſhine in learning or in wit; but would never give the leaſt allowance for any failures in the former, even to thoſe who made the greateſt figure in either of the two latter. She had no uſe of any perſon's liberality, yet her deteſtation of covetous people made her uneaſy if ſuch a one was in her company; upon which occaſion ſhe would ſay many things very entertaining and humorous.

She never interrupted any perſon who ſpoke; ſhe laughed at no miſtakes they made, but helped them out with modeſty; and if a good thing were ſpoken, but neglected, ſhe would not let it fall, but ſet it in the beſt light to thoſe who were preſent. She liſtened to all that was ſaid, and had never the leaſt diſtraction or abſence of thought.

It was not ſafe, nor prudent, in her preſence, to offend in the leaſt word againſt modeſty; for ſhe then gave full employment to her wit, her contempt, and reſentment, under which even ſtupidity and brutality were forced to ſink into confuſion; and the guilty perſon, by her future avoiding him like a bear or a ſatyr, was never in a way to tranſgreſs a ſecond time.

It happened one ſingle coxcomb, of the pert kind, was in her company, among ſeveral other ladies;

ladies; and in his flippant way, began to deliver ſome double meanings: the reſt flapped their fans, and uſed the other common expedients practiſed in ſuch caſes, of appearing not to mind or comprehend what was ſaid. Her behaviour was very different, and perhaps may be cenſured. She ſaid thus to the man: "Sir, all theſe ladies and I un-
"derſtand your meaning very well, having, in
"ſpite of our care, too often met with thoſe of
"your ſex who wanted manners and good ſenſe.
"But, believe me, neither virtuous nor even vi-
"cious women love ſuch kind of converſation.
"However, I will leave you, and report your be-
"haviour: and whatever viſit I make, I ſhall firſt
"inquire at the door whether you are in the houſe,
"that I may be ſure to avoid you." I know not whether a majority of ladies would approve of ſuch a proceeding; but I believe the practice of it would ſoon put an end to that corrupt converſation, the worſt effect of dullneſs, ignorance, impudence, and vulgarity; and the higheſt affront to the modeſty and underſtanding of the female ſex.

By returning very few viſits, ſhe had not much company of her own ſex, except thoſe whom ſhe moſt loved for their eaſineſs, or eſteemed for their good ſenſe; and thoſe, not inſiſting on ceremony, came often to her. But ſhe rather choſe men for her companions, the uſual topicks of ladies diſcourſe being ſuch as ſhe had little knowledge of, and leſs reliſh. Yet no man was upon the rack to entertain her, for ſhe eaſily deſcended to any thing that was innocent and diverting. News,

politicks, cenſure, family-management, or town-talk, ſhe always diverted to ſomething elſe; but theſe indeed ſeldom happened, for ſhe choſe her company better: and therefore many, who miſtook her and themſelves, having ſolicited her acquaintance, and finding themſelves diſappointed after a few viſits, dropped off; and ſhe was never known to inquire into the reaſon, or aſk what was become of them.

She was never poſitive in arguing; and ſhe uſually treated thoſe who were ſo, in a manner which well enough gratified that unhappy diſpoſition; yet in ſuch a ſort as made it very contemptible, and at the ſame time did ſome hurt to the owners. Whether this proceeded from her eaſineſs in general, or from her indifference to perſons, or from her deſpair of mending them, or from the ſame practice which ſhe much liked in Mr. Addiſon, I cannot determine; but when ſhe ſaw any of the company very warm in a wrong opinion, ſhe was more inclined to confirm them in it than oppoſe them. The excuſe ſhe commonly gave, when her friends aſked the reaſon, was, "That it prevented noiſe, and ſaved time." Yet I have known her very angry with ſome, whom ſhe much eſteemed, for ſometimes falling into that infirmity.

She loved Ireland much better than the generality of thoſe who owe both their birth and riches to it; and, having brought over all the fortune ſhe had in money, left the reverſion of the beſt part of it, one thouſand pounds, to Dr. Stephens's Hoſpital.

Hoſpital. She deteſted the tyranny and injuſtice of England, in their treatment of this kingdom. She had indeed reaſon to love a country, where ſhe had the eſteem and friendſhip of all who knew her, and the univerſal good report of all who ever heard of her, without one exception, if I am told the truth by thoſe who keep general converſation. Which character is the more extraordinary, in falling to a perſon of ſo much knowledge, wit, and vivacity, qualities that are uſed to create envy, and conſequently cenſure; and muſt be rather imputed to her great modeſty, gentle behaviour, and inoffenſiveneſs, than to her ſuperior virtues.

Although her knowledge, from books and company, was much more extenſive than uſually falls to the ſhare of her ſex; yet ſhe was ſo far from making a parade of it, that her female viſitants, on their firſt acquaintance, who expected to diſcover it by what they call hard words and deep diſcourſe, would be ſometimes diſappointed, and ſay, "They "found ſhe was like other women." But wiſe men, through all her modeſty, whatever they diſcourſed on, could eaſily obſerve that ſhe underſtood them very well, by the judgment ſhewn in her obſervations, as well as in her queſtions.

CHARACTER

OF

MRS. HOWARD.

Written in the Year MDCCXXVII.

I SHALL ſay nothing of her wit or beauty, which are allowed by all perſons who can judge of either, when they hear or ſee her. Beſides, beauty being tranſient, and a trifle, cannot juſtly make part of a character. And I leave others to celebrate her wit, becauſe it will be of no uſe in that part of her character which I intend to draw. Neither ſhall I relate any part of her hiſtory; farther than that ſhe went, in the prime of her youth, to the court of Hanover with her huſband, and became of the bedchamber to the preſent princeſs of Wales, living in expectation of the Queen's * death: upon which event ſhe came over with her miſtreſs, and has ever ſince continued in her ſervice; where, from the attendance daily paid her by the miniſters, and all expectants, ſhe is reckoned much the greateſt favourite of the court at Leiceſter-houſe: a ſituation which ſhe has long affected to deſire that it might not be believed.

There is no politician who more carefully watches the motions and diſpoſitions of things and perſons

* Queen Anne.

at

at St. James's, nor can form his language with a more imperceptible dexterity to the preſent poſture of a court, or more early foreſee what ſtyle may be proper upon any approaching juncture of affairs; whereof ſhe can gather early intelligence without aſking it, and often when even thoſe from whom ſhe has it are not ſenſible that they are giving it to her, but equally with others admire her ſagacity. Sir Robert Walpole and ſhe both think they underſtand each other, and are both equally miſtaken.

With perſons where ſhe is to manage, ſhe is very dextrous in that point of ſkill which the French call *tâter le pavè;* with others, ſhe is a great vindicator of all preſent proceedings, but in ſuch a manner, as if ſhe were under no concern farther than her own conviction, and wondering how any body can think otherwiſe. And the danger is, that ſhe may come in time to believe herſelf; which, under a change of princes, and a great addition of credit, might have bad conſequences. She is a moſt unconſcionable dealer; for, in return of a few good words, which ſhe gives to her lords and gentlemen daily waiters before their faces, ſhe gets ten thouſand from them behind her back, which are of real ſervice to her character. The credit ſhe has is managed with the utmoſt thrift; and whenever ſhe employs it, which is very rarely, it is only upon ſuch occaſions where ſhe is ſure to get much more than ſhe ſpends. For inſtance, ſhe would readily preſs Sir Robert Walpole to do ſome favour for colonel Churchill, or Doddington; the prince, for a mark of grace to Mr. Schutz; and

the princeſs, to be kind to Mrs. Clayton. She ſometimes falls into the general miſtake of all courtiers, which is that of not ſuiting her talents to the abilities of others, but thinking thoſe ſhe deals with to have leſs art than they really poſſeſs; ſo that ſhe may poſſibly be deceived when ſhe thinks ſhe deceives.

In all offices of life, except thoſe of a courtier, ſhe acts with juſtice, generoſity, and truth. She is ready to do good as a private perſon, and I would almoſt think in charity that ſhe will not do harm as a courtier, unleſs to pleaſe thoſe in chief power.

In religion ſhe is at leaſt a Latitudinarian, being not an enemy to books written by the Free-thinkers; and herein ſhe is the more blameable, becauſe ſhe has too much morality to ſtand in need of them, requiring only a due degree of faith for putting her in the road to ſalvation. I ſpeak this of her as a private lady, not as a court-favourite, for, in the latter capacity, ſhe can ſhew neither faith nor works.

If ſhe had never ſeen a court, it is not impoſſible that ſhe might have been a friend.

She abounds in good words, and expreſſions of good wiſhes, and will concert a hundred ſchemes for the ſervice of thoſe whom ſhe would be thought to favour: ſchemes, that ſometimes ariſe from them, and ſometimes from herſelf; although, at the ſame time, ſhe very well knows them to be without the leaſt probability of ſucceeding. But, to do her juſtice, ſhe never feeds or deceives any

perſon

perſon with promiſes, where ſhe does not at the ſame time intend a degree of ſincerity.

She is, upon the whole, an excellent companion for men of the beſt accompliſhments, who have nothing to deſire or expect.

What part ſhe may act hereafter in a larger ſphere, as lady of the bedchamber to a great Q—n, (upon ſuppoſing the death of his preſent Majeſty*, and of the earl of Suffolk, to whoſe title her huſband ſucceeds) and in high eſteem with a K—g, neither ſhe nor I can foretel. My own opinion is natural and obvious; that her talents as a courtier will ſpread, enlarge, and multiply to ſuch a degree, that her private virtues, for want of room and time to operate, will be laid up clean (like clothes in a cheſt) to be uſed and put on, whenever ſatiety, or ſome reverſe of fortune, or encreaſe of ill health, (to which laſt ſhe is ſubject) ſhall diſpoſe her to retire. In the mean time, it will be her wiſdom to take care that they may not be tarniſhed or moth-eaten, for want of airing and turning at leaſt once a year.

* George the Firſt.

CHARACTER

OF

PRIMATE MARSH.

MARSH has the reputation of moſt profound and univerſal learning; this is the general opinion, neither can it be eaſily diſproved. An old ruſty iron-cheſt in a banker's ſhop, ſtrongly lockt, and wonderful heavy, is full of gold; this is the general opinion, neither can it be diſproved, provided the key be loſt, and what is in it be wedged ſo cloſe that it will not by any motion diſcover the metal by the chinking. Doing good is his pleaſure; and as no man conſults another in his pleaſures, neither does he in this; by his aukwardneſs and unadviſedneſs diſappointing his own good deſigns. His high ſtation has placed him in the way of great employments, which, without in the leaſt poliſhing his native ruſticity, have given him a tincture of pride and ambition. But theſe vices would have paſſed concealed under his natural ſimplicity, if he had not endeavoured to hide them by art. His diſpoſition to ſtudy is the very ſame with that of a uſurer to hoard up money, or of a vicious young fellow to a wench: nothing but avarice and evil concupiſcence, to which his conſtitution has fortunately given a more innocent turn. He is ſordid and ſuſpicious in his domeſtics, without love

or

red; which is but reaſonable, ſince he has
r friend nor enemy; without joy or grief;
rt, without all paſſions but fear, to which of
ıers he has leaſt temptation, having nothing
or to loſe; no poſterity, relation, or friend
ſolicitous about; and placed by his ſtation
the reach of fortune or envy. He has
out the ſecret of preferring men without de-
g their thanks; and where he diſpenſes his
rs to perſons of merit, they are leſs obliged to
han to fortune. He is the firſt of human
that with great advantages of learning, piety,
:ation, ever eſcaped being a great man. That
ı reliſhes beſt with him, is mixt liquor and
company; and he is ſeldom unprovided with
bad of both. He is ſo wiſe as to value his
health more than other mens noſes, ſo that the
honourable place at his table is much the worſt,
ıally in ſummer. It has been affirmed that
ıally he was not altogether devoid of wit, till
s extruded from his head to make room for
mens thoughts. He will admit a governor,
ded it be one who is very officious and dili-
outwardly pious, and one that knows how
ınage and make the moſt of his fear. No
will be either glad or ſorry at his death, ex-
his ſucceſſor.

THOUGHTS

ON

VARIOUS SUBJECTS.

LAWS penned with the utmoſt care and exactneſs, and in the vulgar language, are often perverted to wrong meanings; then why ſhould we wonder that the Bible is ſo?

Although men are accuſed for not knowing their weakneſs, yet perhaps as few know their own ſtrength.

A man ſeeing a waſp creeping into a vial filled with honey, that was hung on a fruit-tree, ſaid thus: Why, thou ſottiſh animal, art thou mad to go into the vial, where you ſee many hundred of your kind dying before you? The reproach is juſt, anſwered the waſp, but not from you men, who are ſo far from taking example by other people's follies, that you will not take warning by your own. If after falling ſeveral times into this vial, and eſcaping by chance, I ſhould fall in again, I ſhould then but reſemble you.

An old miſer kept a tame jack-daw, that uſed to ſteal pieces of money, and hide them in a hole, which the cat obſerving, aſked, Why he would hoard up thoſe round ſhining things that he could make no uſe of? Why, ſaid the jack-daw, my maſter has a whole cheſt-full, and makes no more uſe of them than I.

Men

Men are contented to be laughed at for their wit, ut not for their folly.

If the men of wit and genius would reſolve ever to complain in their works of criticks and etractors, the next age would not know that they ver had any.

After all the maxims and ſyſtems of trade and ommerce, a ſtander-by would think the affairs of he world were moſt ridiculouſly contrived.

There are few countries, which, if well culti- ated, would not ſupport double the number of eir inhabitants, and yet fewer where one third art of the people are not extremely ſtinted even in e neceſſaries of life. I ſend out twenty barrels of orn, which would maintain a family in bread for year, and I bring back in return a veſſel of wine, hich half a dozen good fellows would drink in ſs than a month, at the expence of their health nd reaſon.

A motto for the jeſuits:

Quæ regio in terris noſtri non plena laboris?

A man would have but few ſpectators, if he of- ered to ſhew for three-pence how he could thruſt red hot iron into a barrel of gunpowder, and it hould not take fire.

Query, Whether churches are not dormitories of he living as well as of the dead?

Harry Killegrew ſaid to lord Wharton, "You ' would not ſwear at that rate, if you thought ' you were doing God honour."

A copy of verſes kept in the cabinet, and only hewn to a few friends, is like a virgin much ſought

ſought after and admired; but when printed and publiſhed, is like a common whore, whom any body may purchaſe for half a crown.

Lewis the XIVth of France ſpent his life in turning a good name into a great.

Since the union of divinity and humanity is the great article of our religion, it is odd to ſee ſome clergymen in their writings of divinity, wholly devoid of humanity.

The Epicureans began to ſpread at Rome in the empire of Auguſtus, as the Socinians, and even the Epicureans too did in England towards the end of king Charles the ſecond's reign; which is reckoned, though very abſurdly, our Auguſtan age. They both ſeem to be corruptions occaſioned by luxury and peace, and by politeneſs beginning to decline.

Sometimes I read a book with pleaſure, and deteſt the author.

At a bookſeller's ſhop ſome time ago I ſaw a book with this title; "Poems by the author of the "Choice." Not enduring to read a dozen lines, I aſked the company with me, whether they had ever ſeen the book, or heard of the poem whence the author denominated himſelf; they were all as ignorant as I. But I find it common with theſe ſmall dealers in wit and learning, to give themſelves a title from their firſt adventure, as Don Quixote uſually did from his laſt. This ariſes from that great importance which every man ſuppoſes himſelf to be of.

One Dennis, commonly called the critick, who had writ a three-penny pamphlet againſt the power of

of France, being in the country and hearing of a French privateer hovering about the coaſt, although he were twenty miles from the ſea, fled to town, and told his friends, they need not wonder at his haſte; for the king of France, having got intelligence where he was, had ſent a privateer on purpoſe to catch him.

Dr. Gee, prebendary of Weſtminſter, who had writ a ſmall paper againſt popery, being obliged to travel for his health, affected to diſguiſe his perſon, and change his name, as he paſſed through Portugal, Spain, and Italy; telling all the Engliſh he met, that he was afraid of being murdered, or put into the inquiſition. He was acting the ſame farce at Paris, till Mr. Prior (who was then ſecretary to the embaſſy) quite diſconcerted the doctor, by maliciouſly diſcovering the ſecret; and offering to engage body for body, that not a creature would hurt him, or had ever heard of him or his pamphlet.

A chambermaid to a lady of my acquaintance, thirty miles from London, had the very ſame turn of thought, when talking with one of her fellow-ſervants, ſhe ſaid; "I hear it is all over London "already that I am going to leave my lady:" and ſo had a footman, who being newly married, deſired his comrade to tell him freely what the town ſaid of it.

When ſomebody was telling a certain great miniſter, that people were diſcontented; "Poh, ſaid "he, half a dozen fools are prating in a coffee-

"houſe,

" houſe, and preſently think their own noiſe about " their ears is made by the world."

The death of a private man is generally of ſo little importance to the world, that it cannot be a thing of great importance in itſelf; and yet I do not obſerve from the practice of mankind, that either philoſophy or nature have ſufficiently armed us againſt the fears which attend it. Neither do I find any thing able to reconcile us to it, but extreme pain, ſhame, or deſpair; for poverty, impriſonment, ill fortune, grief, ſickneſs, and old age, do generally fail.

Whence comes the cuſtom of bidding a woman look upon her apron-ſtrings to find an excuſe? Was it not from the apron of fig-leaves worn by Eve, when ſhe covered herſelf, and was the firſt of her ſex who made a bad excuſe for eating the forbidden fruit?

I never wonder to ſee men wicked, but I often wonder to ſee them not aſhamed.

Do not we ſee how eaſily we pardon our own actions and paſſions, and the very infirmities of our bodies; why ſhould it be wonderful to find us pardon our own dullneſs?

Dignity and ſtation, or great riches, are in ſome ſort neceſſary to old men, in order to keep the young at a diſtance, who are otherwiſe apt to inſult them upon the ſcore of their age.

There is no vice or folly that requires ſo much nicety and ſkill to manage, as vanity; nor any, which, by ill management, makes ſo contemptible a figure.

Obſervation is an old man's memory.

Politicks are nothing but corruptions, and are conſequently of no uſe to a good king or a good miniſtry; for which reaſon all courts are ſo full of politicks.

Eloquence ſmooth and cutting, is like a razor whetted with oil.

Imaginary evils ſoon become real ones by indulging our reflections on them; as he, who in a melancholy fancy ſees ſomething like a face on the wall or the wainſcot, can, by two or three touches with a lead pencil, make it look viſible, and agreeing with what he fancied.

Men of great parts are often unfortunate in the management of publick buſineſs, becauſe they are apt to go out of the common road by the quickneſs of their imagination. This I once ſaid to my lord Bolingbroke, and deſired he would obſerve, that the clerks in his office uſed a ſort of ivory knife with a blunt edge to divide a ſheet of paper, which never failed to cut it even, only requiring a ſteady hand, whereas if they ſhould make uſe of a ſharp penknife, the ſharpneſs would make it go often out of the creaſe, and diſfigure the paper.

"He who does not provide for his own houſe, "(St. Paul ſays) is worſe than an infidel." And I think, he who provides only for his own houſe, is juſt equal with an infidel.

Jealouſy, like fire, may ſhrivel up horns, but it makes them ſtink.

A foot-

A footman's hat ſhould fly off to every body; and therefore Mercury, who was Jupiter's footman, had wings faſtened to his cap.

When a man pretends love, but courts for money, he is like a juggler, who conjures away your ſhilling, and conveys ſomething very indecent under the hat.

All panegyricks are mingled with an infuſion of poppy.

I have known men happy enough at ridicule, who upon grave ſubjects were perfectly ſtupid; of which Dr. Echard of Cambridge, who writ "The "contempt of the clergy" was a great inſtance.

One top of Parnaſſus was ſacred to Bacchus, the other to Apollo.

Matrimony has many children; Repentance, Diſcord, Poverty, Jealouſy, Sickneſs, Spleen, Loathing, &c.

Viſion is the art of ſeeing things inviſible.

The two maxims of any great man at court, are, always to keep his countenance, and never to keep his word.

I aſked a poor man how he did? He ſaid, he was like a waſhball, always in decay.

Hippocrates, Aph. 32. Sect. 6. obſerves, that ſtuttering people are always ſubject to a looſeneſs. I wiſh phyſicians had power to remove the profuſion of words in many people to the inferior parts.

A man dreamt he was a cuckold; a friend told him it was a bad ſign, becauſe when a dream is true, Virgil ſays it paſſes through the horned gate.

Love

Love is a flame, and therefore we ſay, beauty is attractive; becauſe phyſicians obſerve that fire is a great drawer.

Civis, the moſt honourable name among the Romans; a citizen, a word of contempt among us.

A lady who had gallantries and ſeveral children, told her huſband he was like the auſtere man, who reaped where he did not ſow.

We read that an aſs's head was ſold for eighty pieces of ſilver; they have been lately ſold ten thouſand times dearer, and yet they were never more plentiful.

I muſt complain the cards are ill ſhuffled, till I have a good hand.

Very few men do properly live at preſent, but are providing to live another time.

When I am reading a book, whether wiſe or ſilly, it ſeems to me to be alive and talking to me.

Whoever live at a different end of the town from me, I look upon as perſons out of the world, and only myſelf and the ſcene about me to be in it.

When I was young, I thought all the world, as well as myſelf, was wholly taken up in diſcourſing upon the laſt new play.

My lord Cromarty, after fourſcore, went to his country-houſe in Scotland, with a reſolution to ſtay ſix years there and live thriftily, in order to ſave up money, that he might ſpend in London.

It is ſaid of the horſes in the viſion, that their power was in their mouths and in their tails. What

is ſaid of horſes in the viſion, in reality may be ſaid of women.

Elephants are always drawn ſmaller than the life, but a flea always larger.

When old folks tell us of many paſſages in their youth between them and their company, we are apt to think how much happier thoſe times were than the preſent.

Why does the elder ſiſter dance bare-foot, when the younger is married before her? is it not that ſhe may appear ſhorter, and conſequently be thought younger than the bride?

No man will take counſel, but every man will take money; therefore money is better than counſel.

I never yet knew a wag (as the term is) who was not a dunce.

A perſon reading to me a dull poem of his own making, I prevailed on him to ſcratch out ſix lines together; in turning over the leaf, the ink being wet, it marked as many lines on the other ſide; whereof the poet complaining, I bid him be eaſy, for it would be better if thoſe were out too.

At Windſor I was obſerving to my lord Bolingbroke, that the tower where the maids of honour lodged (who at that time were not very handſome) was much frequented with crows. My lord ſaid, it was becauſe they ſmelt carrion.

BONS MOTS DE STELLA.

A LADY of my intimate acquaintance both in England and Ireland, in which laſt kingdom ſhe lived from the eighteenth year of her age, twenty-ſix years, had the moſt and fineſt accompliſhments of any perſon I ever knew of either ſex. It was obſerved by all her acquaintance, that ſhe never failed in company to ſay the beſt thing that was ſaid, whoever was by; yet her companions were uſually perſons of the beſt underſtanding in the kingdom. Some of us, who were her neareſt friends, lamented that we never wrote down her remarks, and what the French call Bons Mots. I will recollect as many as I can remember.

We were diverting ourſelves at a play called "What is it like?" One perſon is to think, and the reſt, without knowing the thing, to ſay what it is like. The thing thought on was the ſpleen; ſhe had ſaid it was like an oyſter, and gave her reaſon immediately, becauſe it is removed by taking ſteel inwardly.

Dr. Sheridan, who ſquandered more than he could afford, took out his purſe as he ſat by the fire, and found it was very hot; ſhe ſaid, the reaſon was, that his money burnt in his pocket.

She called to her ſervants to know what ill ſmell was in the kitchen; they anſwered, they were making matches: Well, ſaid ſhe, I have heard matches were made in heaven, but by the brimſtone one would think they were made in hell.

After ſhe had been eating ſome ſweet thing, a little of it happened to ſtick on her lips; a gentleman told her of it, and offered to lick it off; ſhe ſaid, No, ſir, I thank you, I have a tongue of my own.

In the late king's time, a gentleman aſked Jervas the painter, where he lived in London? he anſwered, next door to the king, for his houſe was near St. James's. The other wondering how that could be; ſhe ſaid, You miſtake Mr. Jervas, for he only means next door to the ſign of a king.

A gentleman who had been very ſilly and pert in her company, at laſt began to grieve at remembering the loſs of a child lately dead. A biſhop ſitting by comforted him; that he ſhould be eaſy, becauſe the child was gone to heaven. No, my lord, ſays ſhe, that is it which moſt grieves him, becauſe he is ſure never to ſee his child there.

Having ſeen ſome letters writ by a king in a very large hand, and ſome perſons wondering at them, ſhe ſaid it confirmed the old ſaying, That kings had long hands.

Dr. Sheridan, famous for punning, intending to ſell a bargain, ſaid, he had made a very good pun. Some body aſked, what it was? He anſwered, my a—. The other taking offence, ſhe inſiſted the doctor was in the right, for every body knew that punning was his blind ſide.

When ſhe was extremely ill, her phyſicians ſaid, Madam, you are near the bottom of the hill, but we will endeavour to get you up again. She anſwered,

ſwered, Doctor, I fear I ſhall be out of breath before I get up to the top.

A dull parſon talking of a very ſmart thing, ſaid to another parſon as he came out of the pulpit, he was hammering a long time, but could not remember the jeſt; ſhe being impatient ſaid, I remember it very well, for I was there, and the words were theſe: Sir, you have been blundering at a ſtory this half hour, and can neither make head nor tail of it.

A very dirty clergyman of her acquaintance, who affected ſmartneſs and repartee, was aſked by ſome of the company how his nails came to be ſo dirty? He was at a loſs; but ſhe ſolved the difficulty, by ſaying, the doctor's nails grew dirty by ſcratching himſelf.

SOME

REASONS

AGAINST

The BILL for ſettling the TITHE of HEMP, FLAX, &c. by a MODUS *.

THE clergy did little expect to have any cauſe of complaint againſt the preſent houſe of commons; who, in the laſt ſeſſion, were pleaſed to throw out a bill † ſent them from the lords, which that reverend body apprehended would be very injurious to them, if it paſſed into a law: and who, in the preſent ſeſſion, defeated the arts and endeavours of ſchiſmaticks to repeal the ſacramental teſt.

For although it has been allowed on all hands, that the former of thoſe bills might, by its neceſſary conſequences, be very diſpleaſing to the lay gentlemen of the kingdom, for many reaſons purely ſecular; and that this laſt attempt for repealing the

* Many eminent clergymen who oppoſed this ſcheme applied to Dr. Swift to write againſt it, which he readily conſented to upon their giving him ſome hints, and two days after the following Reaſons were preſented to ſeveral members of parliament, which had ſo good an effect that the bill was dropped.

† For the biſhops to divide livings.

teſt

teſt, did much more affect at preſent the temporal intereſt than the ſpiritual; yet the whole body of the lower clergy have, upon both thoſe occaſions, expreſſed equal gratitude to that honourable houſe for their juſtice and ſteadineſs, as if the clergy alone were to receive the benefit.

It muſt needs be therefore a great addition to the clergy's grief, that ſuch an aſſembly as the preſent houſe of commons, ſhould now, with an expedition more than uſual, agree to a bill for encouraging the linen manufacture, with a clauſe whereby the church is to loſe two parts in three of the legal tithe in flax and hemp.

Some reaſons why the clergy think ſuch a law will be a great hardſhip upon them are, I conceive, thoſe that follow. I ſhall venture to enumerate them, with all deference due to that honourable aſſembly.

Firſt, the clergy ſuppoſe that they have not, by any fault or demerit, incurred the diſpleaſure of the nation's repreſentatives: neither can the declared loyalty of the preſent ſet, from the higheſt prelate to the loweſt vicar, be in the leaſt diſputed: becauſe there are hardly ten clergymen through the whole kingdom, for more than nineteen years paſt, who have not been either preferred entirely upon account of their declared affection to the Hanover line, or higher promoted as the due reward of the ſame merit.

There is not a landlord in the whole kingdom reſiding ſome part of the year at his country ſeat, who is not in his own conſcience fully convinced,

that the tithes of his miniſter have gradually ſunk for ſome years paſt one third, or at leaſt one fourth, of their former value, excluſive of all non-ſolvencies.

The payment of tithes in this kingdom is ſubject to ſo many frauds, brangles, and other difficulties, not only from papiſts and diſſenters, but even from thoſe who profeſs themſelves proteſtants; that, by the expence, the trouble, and vexation of collecting or bargaining for them, they are, of all other rents, the moſt precarious, uncertain, and ill paid.

The landlords in moſt pariſhes expect, as a compliment, that they ſhall pay little more than half the value of the tithes for the lands they hold in their own hands; which often conſiſt of large domains: and it is the miniſter's intereſt to make them eaſy upon that article, when he conſiders what influence thoſe gentlemen have upon their tenants.

The clergy cannot but think it extremely ſevere, that in a bill for encouraging the linen manufacture, they alone muſt be the ſufferers, who can leaſt afford it. If, as I am told, there be a tax of three thouſand pounds a year paid by the publick, for a farther encouragement to the ſaid manufacture, are not the clergy equal ſharers in the charge with the reſt of their fellow-ſubjects? What ſatisfactory reaſon can be therefore given, why they alone ſhould bear the whole additional weight, unleſs it will be alleged that their property is not upon an equal foot with the properties of other men? They acquire their

heir own ſmall pittance, by at leaſt as honeſt neans, as their neighbours the landlords poſſeſs heir eſtates; and have been always ſuppoſed, except in rebellious or fanatical times, to have as good a title: for no families now in being can ſhew a nore ancient. Indeed if it be true, that ſome perons (I hope they were not many) were ſeen to augh when the rights of the clergy were mentiond; in this caſe, an opinion may poſſibly be ſoon dvanced, that they have no rights at all. And his is likely enough to gain ground, in proportion as the contempt of all religion ſhall increaſe, which s already in a very forward way.

It is ſaid, there will be alſo added in this bill, a clauſe for diminiſhing the tithe of hops, in order to cultivate that uſeful plant among us: and here likewiſe the load is to lie entirely on the ſhoulders of the clergy, while the landlords reap all the benefit. It will not be eaſy to foreſee where ſuch proceedings are likely to ſtop; or whether by the ſame authority, in civil times, a parliament may not as juſtly challenge the ſame power in reducing all things titheable, not below the tenth part of the product (which is and ever will be the clergy's equitable right) but from a tenth part to a ſixtieth or eightieth, and from thence to nothing.

I have heard it granted by ſkilful perſons, that the practice of taxing the clergy by parliament, without their own conſent, is a new thing, not much above the date of ſeventy years: before which period, in times of peace, they always taxed themſelves. But things are extremely altered at

preſent: it is not now ſufficient to tax them in common with their fellow-ſubjects, without impoſing an additional tax upon them, from which, or from any thing equivalent, all their fellow-ſubjects are exempt; and this in a country profeſſing Chriſtianity.

The greateſt part of the clergy throughout this kingdom have been ſtripped of their glebes, by the confuſion of times, by violence, fraud, oppreſſion, and other unlawful means; all which glebes are now in the hands of the laity. So that they now are generally forced to lie at the mercy of landlords, for a ſmall piece of ground in their pariſhes, at a moſt exorbitant rent, and uſually for a ſhort term of years, whereon to build a houſe, and enable them to reſide. Yet, in ſpite of theſe diſadvantages, I am a witneſs, that they are generally more conſtant reſidents, than their brethren in England; where the meaneſt vicar has a convenient dwelling, with a barn, a garden, and a field or two for his cattle; beſide the certainty of his little income from honeſt farmers, able and willing not only to pay him his dues, but likewiſe to make him preſents, according to their ability, for his better ſupport. In all which circumſtances the clergy of Ireland meet with a treatment directly contrary.

It is hoped the honourable houſe will conſider, that it is impoſſible for the moſt ill-minded, avaricious, or cunning clergyman, to do the leaſt injuſtice to the meaneſt cottager in his pariſh, in any bargain for tithes, or other eccleſiaſtical dues. He can at the utmoſt only demand to have his tithes fairly

rly laid out; and does not once in a hundred nes obtain his demand. But every tenant, from e pooreſt cottager, to the moſt ſubſtantial farmer, n, and generally does impoſe upon the miniſter, r fraud, by theft, by lies, by perjuries, by inſonce, and ſometimes by force; notwithſtanding ıe utmoſt vigilance and ſkill of himſelf and his roctor; inſomuch that it is allowed, that the clergy ı general, receive little more than one half of their gal dues; not including the charges they are at in ollecting or bargaining for them.

The land rents of Ireland are computed to about vo millions, whereof one tenth amounts to two undred thouſand pounds. The beneficed clergyıen, excluding thoſe of this city, are not reckoned ɔ be above five hundred; by which computation ney ſhould each of them poſſeſs two hundred pounds year, if thoſe tithes were equally divided, although in well-cultivated corn countries it ought to e more; whereas they hardly receive one half of hat ſum, with great defalcations, and in very bad ayments. There are indeed a few glebes in the ıorth pretty conſiderable; but if theſe, and all the eſt, were in like manner equally divided, they vould not add five pounds a year to every clergynan. Therefore, whether the condition of the clergy in general among us be juſtly liable to envy, or able to bear a heavy burden, which neither the ıobility nor gentry, nor tradeſmen, nor farmers, will touch with one of their fingers; this, I ſay, is ubmitted to the honourable houſe.

One terrible circumſtance in this bill is, that of turning the tithe of flax and hemp, into what the lawyers call a *modus*, or a certain ſum in lieu of a tenth part of the product. And by this practice of claiming a *modus* in many pariſhes by ancient cuſtom, the clergy in both kingdoms have been almoſt incredible ſufferers. Thus in the preſent caſe, the tithe of a tolerable acre of flax, which by a medium is worth twelve ſhillings, is by the preſent bill reduced to four ſhillings. Neither is this the worſt part in a *modus*; every determinate ſum muſt in proceſs of time ſink from a fourth to a four and twentieth part, or a great deal lower, by that neceſſary fall attending the value of money; which is now at leaſt nine tenths lower all over Europe, than it was four hundred years ago, by a gradual decline; and even a third part at leaſt, within our own memories, in purchaſing almoſt every thing required for the neceſſities or conveniencies of life; as any gentleman can atteſt, who has kept houſe for twenty years paſt. And this will equally affect poor countries as well as rich. For, although I look upon it as an impoſſibility that this kingdom ſhould ever thrive under its preſent diſadvantages, which, without a miracle, muſt ſtill increaſe; yet, when the whole caſh of the nation ſhall ſink to fifty thouſand pounds, we muſt, in all our traffick abroad, either of import or export, go by the general rate, at which money is valued in thoſe countries, that enjoy the common privileges of human kind. For this reaſon no corporation (if the clergy may preſume to call themſelves one) ſhould by

any

any means grant away their properties in perpetuity, upon any conſideration whatſoever; which is a rock that many corporations have ſplit upon, to their great impoveriſhment, and ſometimes to their utter undoing; becauſe they are ſuppoſed to ſubſiſt for ever, and becauſe no determination of money is of any certain perpetual intrinſic value. This is known enough in England, where eſtates let for ever, ſome hundred years ago, by ſeveral ancient noble families, do not at this preſent pay their poſterity a twentieth part of what they are now worth at an eaſy rent.

A tax affecting one part of a nation, which already bears its full ſhare in all parliamentary impoſitions, cannot poſſibly be juſt, except it be inflicted as a puniſhment upon that body of men which is taxed, for ſome great demerit or danger to the publick apprehended from thoſe upon whom it is laid: thus the papiſts and non-jurors have been doubly taxed, for refuſing to give proper ſecurities to the government; which cannot be objected againſt the clergy. And therefore, if this bill ſhould paſs, I think it ought to be with a preface, ſhewing wherein they have offended, and for what diſaffection or other crime they are puniſhed.

If an additional exciſe upon ale, or a duty upon fleſh and bread were to be enacted, neither the victualer, butcher, or baker would bear any more of the charge than for what themſelves conſumed, but it would be an equal general tax through the whole kingdom: whereas, by this bill, the clergy alone are avowedly condemned to be deprived of

their

their ancient, inherent, undiſputed rights, in order to encourage a manufacture, by which all the reſt of the kingdom are ſuppoſed to be gainers.

This bill is directly againſt *magna charta*; whereof the firſt clauſe is, for confirming the inviolable rights of holy church; as well as contrary to the oath taken by all our kings at their coronation, where they ſwear to defend and protect the church in all its rights.

A tax laid upon employments is a very different thing. The poſſeſſors of civil and military employments are no corporation; neither are they any part of our conſtitution; their ſalaries, pay, and perquiſites are all changeable at the pleaſure of the prince who beſtows them, although the army be paid from funds raiſed and appropriated by the legiſlature. But the clergy, as they have little reaſon to expect, ſo they deſire no more than their ancient legal dues; only indeed with the removal of many grievous impediments in the collection of them; which it is to be feared they muſt wait for until more favourable times. It is well known that they have already, of their own accord, ſhewn great indulgence to their people upon this very article of flax, ſeldom taking above a fourth part of their tithe for ſmall parcels, and oftentimes nothing at all from new beginners; waiting with patience until the farmers were able, and until greater quantities of land were employed in that part of huſbandry; never ſuſpecting that their good intentions ſhould be perverted, in ſo ſingular a manner, to their detriment, by that very aſſembly, which,

vhich, during the time that convocations (which re an original part of our conſtitution, ever ſince hriſtianity became national among us) are thought it to be ſuſpended, God knows for what reaſon, or from what provocations; I ſay from that very aſſembly, who, during the intervals of convocations, ſhould rather be ſuppoſed to be guardians of the rights and properties of the clergy, than to make the leaſt attempt upon either.

I have not heard upon enquiry, that any of thoſe gentlemen, who among us without doors are called the court-party, diſcover the leaſt zeal in this affair. If they had thoughts to interpoſe, it might be conceived they would ſhew their diſpleaſure againſt this bill, which muſt very much leſſen the value of the king's patronage upon promotion to vacant ſees, in the diſpoſal of deanries, and other conſiderable preferments in the church, which are in the donation of the crown; whereby the viceroys will have fewer good preferments to beſtow on their dependents, as well as upon the kindred of members, who may have a ſufficient ſtock of that ſort of merit, whatever it may be, which may in future times moſt prevail.

The diſſenters, by not ſucceeding in their endeavours to procure a repeal of the teſt, have loſt nothing, but continue in a full enjoyment of their toleration; while the clergy, without giving the leaſt offence, are by this bill deprived of a conſiderable branch of their ancient legal rights, whereby the ſchiſmatical party will have the pleaſure

ſure of gratifying their revenge—*hoc Graii voluere.*

The farmer will find no relief by this *modus*, becauſe, when his preſent leaſe ſhall expire, his landlord will infallibly raiſe the rent in an equal proportion upon every part of land where flax is ſown, and have ſo much a better ſecurity for payment at the expence of the clergy.

If we judge by things paſt, it little avails that this bill is to be limited to a certain time of ten, twenty, or thirty years. For no landlord will ever conſent that a law ſhall expire, by which he finds himſelf a gainer; and of this there are many examples, as well in England, as in this kingdom.

The great end of this bill, is, by proper encouragement to extend the linen manufacture into thoſe counties where it has hitherto been little cultivated: but this encouragement of leſſening the tithe of flax and hemp, is one of ſuch a kind, as, it is to be feared, will have a directly contrary effect. Becauſe, if I am rightly informed, no ſet of men has, for their number and fortunes, been more induſtrious and ſucceſsful than the clergy, in introducing that manufacture into places which were unacquainted with it; by perſuading their people to ſow flax and hemp, by procuring ſeed for them, and by having them inſtructed in the management thereof; and this they did, not without reaſonable hopes of increaſing the value of their pariſhes after ſome time, as well as of promoting the benefit of the publick. But if this *modus* ſhould take

take place; the clergy will be ſo far from gaining, that they will become loſers by their extraordinary care, by having their beſt arable lands turned to flax and hemp, which are reckoned great impoveriſhers of land: they cannot therefore be blamed, if they ſhould ſhew as much zeal to prevent its being introduced or improved in their pariſhes, as they hitherto have * ſhewed in the introducing and improving of it. This, I am told, ſome of them have already declared; at leaſt ſo far as to reſolve not to give themſelves any more trouble than other men about promoting a manufacture, by the ſucceſs of which they only of all men are to be ſufferers. Perhaps the giving even a farther encouragement than the law does, as it now ſtands, to a ſet of men, who might on many accounts be ſo uſeful to this purpoſe, would be no bad method of having the great end of the bill more effectually anſwered: but this is what they are far from deſiring; all they petition for, is no more than to continue on the ſame footing with the reſt of their fellow ſubjects.

If this *modus* of paying by the acre be to paſs into a law, it were to be wiſhed, that the ſame law would not only appoint one or more ſworn ſurveyors in each pariſh to meaſure the lands, on which flax and hemp are ſown, but alſo ſettle the price of ſurveying, and determine whether the incumbent or farmer is to pay for each annual ſurvey. Without ſomething of this kind there muſt con-

* It ſhould be—'have *ſhewn*.'

ſtantly be diſputes between them, and the neighbouring juſtices of peace muſt be teaſed as often as thoſe diſputes happen.

I had written thus far, when a paper was ſent to me with ſeveral reaſons againſt the bill, ſome whereof, although they have been already touched, are put in a better light, and the reſt did not occur to me. I ſhall deliver them in the author's own words.

I. That tithes are the patrimony of the church; and, if not of divine original, yet at leaſt of great antiquity.

II. That all purchaſes and leaſes of titheable lands, for many centuries paſt, have been made and taken, ſubject to the demand of tithes, and thoſe lands ſold and taken juſt ſo much the cheaper on that account.

III. That if any lands are exempted from tithes, or the legal demands of ſuch tithes leſſened by act of parliament, ſo much value is taken from the proprietor of the tithes, and veſted in the proprietor of the lands, or his head tenants.

IV. That no innocent unoffending perſon can be ſo deprived of his property, without the greateſt violation of common juſtice.

V. That to do this upon a proſpect of encouraging the linen or any other manufacture, is acting upon a very miſtaken and unjuſt ſuppoſition; inaſmuch as the price of the lands, ſo occupied, will be no way leſſened to the farmer, by ſuch a law.

VI. That

VI. That the clergy are content cheerfully to bear (as they now do) any burden in common with their fellow ſubjects, either for the ſupport of his majeſty's government, or the encouragement of the trade of the nation; but think it very hard that they ſhould be ſingled out to pay heavier taxes than others, at a time when, by the decreaſe of the value of their pariſhes, they are leſs able to bear them.

VII. That the legiſlature has heretofore diſtinguiſhed the clergy by exemptions, and not by additional loads; and the preſent clergy of the kingdom, hope they have not deſerved worſe of the legiſlature, than their predeceſſors.

VIII. That, by the original conſtitution of theſe kingdoms, the clergy had the ſole right of taxing themſelves, and were in poſſeſſion of that right as low as the Reſtoration; and if that right be now devolved upon the commons, by the ceſſion of the clergy, the commons can be conſidered, in this caſe, in no other light, than as the guardians of the clergy.

IX. That, beſide thoſe tithes always in the poſſeſſion of the clergy, there are ſome portions of tithes lately come into their poſſeſſion by purchaſe; that if this clauſe ſhould take place, they would not be allowed the benefit of theſe purchaſes, upon an equal foot of advantage, with the reſt of their fellow ſubjects. And that ſome tithes in the hands of impropriators, are under ſettlements and mortgages.

X. That the gentlemen of this houſe ſhould conſider, that loading the clergy is loading their own younger brothers and children; with this additional grievance, that it is taking from the younger and poorer, to give to the elder and richer; and,

Laſtly, That, if it were at any time juſt and proper to do this, it would however be too ſevere to do it now, when all the tithes of the kingdom are known, for ſome years paſt, to have ſunk above one third part in their value.

Any income in the hands of the clergy, is at leaſt as uſeful to the publick, as the ſame income in the hands of the laity.

It were more reaſonable to grant the clergy in three parts of the nation an additional ſupport, than to diminiſh their preſent ſubſiſtence.

Great employments are and will be in the hands of Engliſhmen; nothing left for the younger ſons of Iriſhmen, but vicarages, tide-waiters places, &c. therefore no reaſon to make them worſe.

The *modus* upon the flax in England affects only lands reclaimed ſince the year 1690, and is at the rate of five ſhillings the Engliſh acre, which is equivalent to eight ſhillings and eight pence Iriſh, and that to be paid before the farmer remove it from the field. Flax is a manufacture of little conſequence in England, but is the ſtaple in Ireland; and if it increaſes (as it probably will) muſt in many places joſtle out corn, becauſe it is more gainful.

The

The clergy of the eſtabliſhed church, have no intereſt, like thoſe of the church of Rome, diſtinct from the true intereſt of their country; and therefore ought to ſuffer under no diſtinct impoſitions or taxes of any kind.

The bill for ſettling the *modus* of flax in England, was brought in the firſt year of the reign of king George I. when the clergy lay very unjuſtly under the imputation of ſome diſaffection; and to encourage the bringing in of ſome fens in Lincolnſhire, which were not to be continued under flax; but it left all lands, where flax had been ſown before that time, under the ſame condition of tithing, in which they were before the paſſing of that bill: whereas this bill takes away what the clergy are actually poſſeſſed of.

That the woollen manufacture is the ſtaple of England, as the linen is that of Ireland; yet no attempt was ever made in England, to reduce the tithe of wool, for the encouragement of that manufacture. This manufacture has already been remarkably favoured by the clergy, who have hitherto been generally content with leſs than half, ſome with ſix-pence a garden, and ſome have taken nothing.

Employments, they ſay, have been taxed; the reaſons for which taxation will not hold with regard to property, at leaſt till employments become inheritances. The commons always have had ſo tender a regard to property, that they never would ſuffer any law to paſs, whereby any

particular perſons might be aggrieved without the own conſent.

N. B. Some alterations have been made in the bill about the *modus*, ſince the above paper was written; but they are of little moment.

AN

ACCOUNT

OF THE

COURT and EMPIRE of JAPAN.

Written in MDCCXXVIII.

REGOGE * was the thirty-fourth Emperor of Japan, and began his reign in the year 341 of the Chriſtian æra, ſucceeding to † Nena, a Princeſs who governed with great felicity.

There had been a revolution in that empire about twenty-ſix years before, which made ſome breaches in the hereditary line; and Regoge, ſucceſſor to Nena, although of the royal family, was a diſtant relation.

There were two violent parties in the empire, which began in the time of the revolution above-mentioned; and at the death of the empreſs Nena, were in the higheſt degree of animoſity, each charging the other with a deſign of introducing new Gods, and changing the civil conſtitution. The names of theſe two parties were ‡ Huſiges and Kortes. The latter were thoſe whom Nena the late

* King George. † Queen Anne.
‡ Whigs and Tories.

empreſs moſt favoured towards the end of her reign, and by whoſe advice ſhe governed.

The Huſige faction, enraged at their loſs of power, made private applications to Regoge, during the life of the empreſs; which prevailed ſo far, that upon her death, the new emperor wholly diſgraced the Yortes, and employed only the Huſiges in all his affairs. The Japaneſe author highly blames his imperial majeſty's proceeding in this affair; becauſe it was allowed on all hands, that he had then a happy opportunity of reconciling parties for ever, by a moderating ſcheme. But he, on the contrary, began his reign by openly diſgracing the principal and moſt popular Yortes, ſome of which had been chiefly inſtrumental in raiſing him to the throne. By this miſtaken ſtep, he occaſioned a rebellion: which, although it were ſoon quelled by ſome very ſurprizing turns of fortune; yet the fear, whether real or pretended, of new attempts, engaged him in ſuch immenſe charges, that inſtead of clearing any part of that prodigious debt, left on his kingdom by the former war, which might have been done, by any tolerable management, in twelve years of the moſt profound peace, he left his empire loaden with a vaſt addition to the old incumbrance.

This prince, before he ſucceeded to the empire of Japan, was king of Tedſu, a dominion ſeated on the continent, to the weſt ſide of Japan. Tedſu was the place of his birth, and more beloved by him than his new empire; for there he ſpent ſome months almoſt every year, and thither was ſuppoſed

poſed to have conveyed great ſums of money, ſaved out of his imperial revenues.

There were two maritime towns of great importance bordering upon Tedſu: of theſe he purchaſed a litigated title; and to ſupport it, was forced not only to entrench deeply on his Japaneſe revenues, but to engage in alliances very dangerous to the Japaneſe empire.

Japan was at that time a limited monarchy, which, ſome authors are of opinion, was introduced there by a detachment from the numerous army of Brennus, who ravaged a great part of Aſia; and thoſe of them who fixed in Japan, left behind them that kind of military inſtitution, which the Northern people in enſuing ages carried through moſt parts of Europe; the generals becoming kings, the great officers a ſenate of nobles, with a repreſentative from every centenary of private ſoldiers; and in the aſſent of the majority in theſe two bodies, confirmed by the general, the legiſlature conſiſted.

I need not farther explain a matter ſo univerſally known; but return to my ſubject.

The Huſige faction, by a groſs piece of negligence in the Yortes, had ſo far inſinuated themſelves and their opinions into the favour of Regoge, before he came to the empire, that this prince firmly believed them to be his only true friends, and the others his mortal enemies. By this opinion he governed all the actions of his reign.

The

The emperor died ſuddenly, in his journey to Tedſu; where, according to his uſual cuſtom, he was going to paſs the ſummer.

This prince, during his whole reign, continued an abſolute ſtranger to the language, the manners, the laws, and the religion of Japan; and paſſing his whole time among old miſtreſſes, or a few privados, left the whole management of the empire in the hands of a miniſter, upon the condition of being made eaſy in his perſonal revenues, and the management of parties in the ſenate. His laſt miniſter *, who governed in the moſt arbitrary manner for ſeveral years, he was thought to hate more than he did any other perſon in Japan, except his only ſon, the heir to the empire. The diſlike he bore to the former was, becauſe the miniſter, under pretence that he could not govern the ſenate without diſpoſing of employments among them, would not ſuffer his maſter to oblige one ſingle perſon, but diſpoſed of all to his own relations and dependants. But, as to that continued and virulent hatred he bore to the prince his ſon, from the beginning of his reign to his death, the hiſtorian has not accounted for it, farther than by various conjectures, which do not deſerve to be related.

The miniſter above-mentioned was of a family not contemptible, had been early a ſenator, and from his youth a mortal enemy to the Yortes. He had been formerly diſgraced in the ſenate, for ſome frauds in the management of a public truſt. He

* Sir Robert Walpole.

was perfectly ſkilled, by long practice, in the ſenatorial forms; and dextrous in the purchaſing of votes, from thoſe who could find their accounts better in complying with his meaſures, than they could probably loſe by any tax that might be charged on the kingdom. He ſeemed to fail, in point of policy, by not concealing his gettings; never ſcrupling openly to lay out vaſt ſums of money in paintings, buildings, and purchaſing eſtates; when it was known that upon his firſt coming into buſineſs, upon the death of the empreſs Nena, his fortune was but inconſiderable. He had the moſt boldneſs, and the leaſt magnanimity that ever any mortal was endowed with. By enriching his relations, friends, and dependants, in a moſt exorbitant manner, he was weak enough to imagine that he had provided a ſupport againſt an evil day. He had the beſt among all falſe appearances of courage; which was, a moſt unlimited aſſurance, whereby he would ſwagger the boldeſt men into a dread of his power; but had not the ſmalleſt portion of magnanimity, growing jealous, and diſgracing every man, who was known to bear the leaſt civility to thoſe he diſliked. He had ſome ſmall ſmattering in books, but no manner of politeneſs; nor, in his whole life, was ever known to advance any one perſon, upon the ſcore of wit, learning, or abilities for buſineſs. The whole ſyſtem of his miniſtry was corruption; and he never gave bribe or penſion, without frankly telling the receivers what he expected from them, and threat-

ening them to put an end to his bounty, if they failed to comply in every circumſtance.

A few months before the emperor's death, there was a deſign concerted between ſome eminent perſons of both parties, whom the deſperate ſtate of the empire had united, to accuſe the miniſter at the firſt meeting of a new-choſen ſenate, which was then to aſſemble according to the laws of that empire. And it was believed, that the vaſt expence he muſt be at, in chooſing an aſſembly proper for his purpoſe, added to the low ſtate of the treaſury, the encreaſing number of penſioners, the great diſcontent of the people, and the perſonal hatred of the emperor, would, if well laid open in the ſenate, be of weight enough to ſink the miniſter, when it ſhould appear to his very penſioners and creatures, that he could not ſupply them much longer.

While this ſcheme was in agitation, an account came of the emperor's death; and the prince his ſon, with univerſal joy, mounted the throne of Japan.

The new emperor had always lived a private life, during the reign of his father; who, in his annual abſence, never truſted him more than once with the reins of government, which he held ſo evenly, that he became too popular, to be confided in any more. He was thought not unfavourable to the Yortes, at leaſt not altogether to approve the virulence, wherewith his father proceeded againſt

* K. George II.

them;

them; and therefore, immediately upon his ſucceſſion, the principal perſons of that denomination came, in ſeveral bodies, to kiſs the hem of his garment; whom he received with great courteſy, and ſome of them with particular marks of diſtinction.

The prince, during the reign of his father, having not been truſted with any public charge, employed his leiſure in learning the language, the religion, the cuſtoms, and diſpoſition, of the Japaneſe; wherein he received great information, among others, from Nomptoc *, maſter of his finances, and preſident of the ſenate, who ſecretly hated Lelop-Aw, the miniſter; and likewiſe from Ramneh †, a moſt eminent ſenator, who, deſpairing to do any good with the father, had, with great induſtry, ſkill, and decency, uſed his endeavours to inſtil good principles into the young prince.

Upon the news of the former emperor's death, a grand council was ſummoned of courſe, where little paſſed beſide directing the ceremony of proclaiming the ſucceſſor. But, in ſome days after, the new emperor, having conſulted with thoſe perſons in whom he could chiefly confide, and maturely conſidered in his own mind the preſent ſtate of his affairs, as well as the diſpoſition of his people, convoked another aſſembly of his council; wherein, after ſome time ſpent in general buſineſs, ſuitable to the preſent emergency, he directed

* Sir Spencer Compton, ſpeaker of the houſe of commons.

† Sir Thomas Hanmer.

Lelop-

Lelop-Aw to give him, in as ſhort terms as he conveniently could, an account of the nation's debts, of his management in the ſenate, and his negociations with foreign courts: which that miniſter having delivered, according to his uſual manner, with much aſſurance and little ſatisfaction, the Emperor deſired to be fully ſatisfied in the following particulars:

Whether the vaſt expence of chooſing ſuch members into the ſenate, as would be content to do the public buſineſs, were abſolutely neceſſary?

Whether thoſe members, thus choſen in, would croſs and impede the neceſſary courſe of affairs, unleſs they were ſupplied with great ſums of money and continued penſions?

Whether the ſame corruption and perverſeneſs were to be expected from the nobles?

Whether the empire of Japan were in ſo low a condition, that the imperial envoys at foreign courts muſt be forced to purchaſe alliances, or prevent a war, by immenſe bribes given to the miniſters of all the neighbouring princes?

Why the debts of the empire were ſo prodigiouſly advanced, in a peace of twelve years at home and abroad?

Whether the Yortes were univerſally enemies to the religion and laws of the empire, and to the imperial family now reigning?

Whether thoſe perſons, whoſe revenues conſiſt in the lands, do not give ſurer pledges of fidelity to the publick, and are more intereſted in the welfare

fare of the empire, than others, whoſe fortunes conſiſt only in money?

And becauſe Lelop-Aw, for ſeveral years paſt, had engroſſed the whole adminiſtration, the emperor ſignified, that from him alone he expected an anſwer.

This miniſter, who had ſagacity enough to cultivate an intereſt in the young prince's family, during the late emperor's life, received early intelligence from one of his emiſſaries, of what was intended at the council, and had ſufficient time to frame as plauſible an anſwer, as his cauſe and conduct would allow. However, having deſired a few minutes to put his thoughts in order, he delivered them in the following manner:

"SIR,

"Upon this ſhort unexpected warning, to anſwer your imperial majeſty's queries, I ſhould "be wholly at a loſs, in your majeſty's auguſt "preſence, and that of this moſt noble aſſembly, if "I were armed with a weaker defence than my "own loyalty and integrity, and the proſperous "ſucceſs of my endeavours.

"It is well known, that the death of the em"preſs Nena, happened in a moſt miraculous "juncture; and that if ſhe had lived two months "longer, your illuſtrious family would have been "deprived of your right; and we ſhould have "ſeen a uſurper upon your throne, who would "have wholly changed the conſtitution of this "empire, both civil and ſacred; and, although,

"that

" that empreſs died in a moſt opportune ſeaſon,
" yet the peaceable entrance of your majeſty's fa-
" ther, was effected by a continual ſeries of mi-
" racles. The truth of this appears, by that un-
" natural rebellion which the Yortes raiſed, with-
" out the leaſt provocation, in the firſt year of the
" late emperor's reign; which may be ſufficient to
" convince your majeſty, that every ſoul of that
" denomination, was, is, and will be for ever, a
" favourer of the pretender, a mortal enemy to
" your illuſtrious family, and an introducer of
" new gods into the empire. Upon this founda-
" tion was built the whole conduct of our affairs:
" and ſince a great majority of the kingdom, was
" at that time reckoned to favour the Yortes
" faction, who, in the regular courſe of elections,
" muſt certainly have been choſen members of the
" ſenate then to be convoked; it was neceſſary, by
" the force of money, to influence elections in
" ſuch a manner, that your majeſty's father might
" have a ſufficient number, to weigh down the
" ſcale on his ſide, and thereby carry on thoſe
" meaſures, which could only ſecure him and his
" family in the poſſeſſion of the empire. To
" ſupport this original plan, I came into the ſer-
" vice: but, the members of the ſenate knowing
" themſelves every day more neceſſary, upon the
" chooſing of a new ſenate, I found the charges
" to increaſe; and that after they were choſen,
" they inſiſted upon an increaſe of their penſions;
" becauſe they well knew, that the work could not
" be carried on without them: and I was more

general

'general in my donatives, becauſe I thought it 'was more for the honour of the crown, that 'every vote ſhould paſs without a diviſion; and 'that when a debate was propoſed, it ſhould im-'mediately be quaſhed by putting the queſtion.

"SIR, The date of the preſent ſenate is ex-'pired, and your imperial majeſty is now to con-'voke a new one; which, I confeſs, will be ſome-'what more expenſive than the laſt, becauſe the 'Yortes, from your favourable reception, have 'begun to re-aſſume a ſpirit, whereof the coun-'try had ſome intelligence; and we know, the 'majority of the people, without proper manage-'ment, would be ſtill in that fatal intereſt. How-'ever, I dare undertake, with the charge only of 'four hundred thouſand ſprangs*, to return as 'great a majority of ſenators of the true ſtamp, 'as your majeſty can deſire. As to the ſums of 'money paid in foreign courts, I hope, in ſome 'years, to eaſe the nation of them, when we and 'our neighbours come to a good underſtanding. 'However, I will be bold to ſay, they are cheaper 'than a war, where your majeſty is to be a prin-'cipal.

"The penſions indeed to ſenators and other per-'ſons, muſt needs increaſe, from the reſtiveneſs 'of ſome, and ſcrupulous nature of others; and 'the new members, who are unpractiſed, muſt 'have better encouragement. However, I dare 'undertake to bring the eventual charge within

* About a million ſterling.

" eight hundred thouſand ſprangs. But, to make " this eaſy, there ſhall be new funds raiſed, of " which I have ſeveral ſchemes ready, without " taxing bread or fleſh, which ſhall be reſerved to " more preſſing occaſions.

" Your majeſty knows, it is the laudable cuſ- " tom of all Eaſtern princes, to leave the whole " management of affairs, both civil and military, " to their viſirs. The appointments for your fa- " mily and private purſe, ſhall exceed thoſe of " your predeceſſors: you ſhall be at no trouble, " farther than to appear ſometimes in council, and " leave the reſt to me: you ſhall hear no clamour " or complaints: your ſenate ſhall, upon occaſion, " declare you the beſt of princes, the father of " your country, the arbiter of Aſia, the defender " of the oppreſſed, and the delight of mankind.

" SIR, Hear not thoſe who would, moſt falſely, " impiouſly, and maliciouſly, inſinuate that your " government can be carried on, without that " wholeſome neceſſary expedient, of ſharing the " public revenue with your faithful deſerving ſe- " nators. This, I know, my enemies are pleaſed " to call bribery and corruption. Be it ſo: but I " inſiſt, that without this bribery and corruption, " the wheels of government will not turn; or at " leaſt will be apt to take fire, like other wheels, " unleſs they be greaſed at proper times. If an " angel from heaven ſhould deſcend, to govern " this empire, upon any other ſcheme than what " our enemies call corruption, he muſt return from " whence he came, and leave the work undone.

" SIR,

" SIR, It is well known we are a trading na-
' tion, and conſequently cannot thrive in a bar-
' gain, where nothing is to be gained. The poor
' electors, who run from their ſhops or the plough,
' for the ſervice of their country; are they not to
' be conſidered for their labour and their loyalty?
' The candidates, who, with the hazard of their
' perſons, the loſs of their characters, and the ruin
' of their fortunes, are preferred to the ſenate, in
' a country where they are ſtrangers, before the
' very lords of the ſoil; are they not to be re-
' warded for their zeal to your majeſty's ſervice,
' and qualified to live in your metropolis as be-
' comes the luſtre of their ſtations?

" SIR, If I have given great numbers of the
' moſt profitable employments, among my own
' relations and neareſt allies, it was not out of any
' partiality; but becauſe I know them beſt, and
' can beſt depend upon them. I have been at the
' pains to mould and cultivate their opinions.
' Abler heads might probably have been found;
' but they would not be equally under my direc-
' tion. A huntſman who has the abſolute com-
' mand of his dogs, will hunt more effectually,
' than with a better pack, to whoſe manner and
' cry he is a ſtranger.

" SIR, Upon the whole, I will appeal to all
' thoſe who beſt knew your royal father, whether
' that bleſſed monarch had ever one anxious
' thought for the publick, or diſappointment, or
' uneaſineſs, or want of money for all his occa-
' ſions, during the time of my adminiſtration?

" And how happy the people confeſſed themſelves
" to be, under ſuch a king, I leave to their own
" numerous addreſſes; which all politicians will
" allow, to be the moſt infallible proof, how any
" nation ſtands affected to their ſovereign."

Lelop-Aw, having ended his ſpeech, and ſtruck his forehead thrice againſt the table, as the cuſtom is in Japan, ſat down with great complacency of mind, and much applauſe of his adherents, as might be obſerved by their countenances and their whiſpers. But the emperor's behaviour was remarkable; for, during the whole harangue, he appeared equally attentive and uneaſy. After a ſhort pauſe, his majeſty commanded that ſome other counſellor ſhould deliver his thoughts, either to confirm or object againſt what had been ſpoken by Lelop-Aw.

A

LETTER

ON

MR. M'CULLA'S PROJECT about HALFPENCE, and a new one propoſed.

Written in MDCCXXIX.

SIR,

YOU deſire to know my opinion concerning Mr. M'Culla's project, of circulating notes, ſtamped on copper, that ſhall paſs for the value of halfpence and pence. I have ſome knowledge of the man; and, about a month ago, he brought me his book, with a couple of his halfpenny notes; but I was then out of order, and he could not be admitted. Since that time, I called at his houſe, where I diſcourſed the whole affair with him as thoroughly as I could. I am altogether a ſtranger to his character. He talked to me in the uſual ſtyle, with a great profeſſion of zeal for the public good; which is the common cant of all projectors in their bills, from a firſt miniſter of ſtate down to a corn-cutter. But I ſtopped him ſhort, as I would have done a better man; becauſe it is too groſs a practice to paſs at any time, and eſpecially in this age, where we all know one another ſo well. Yet, whoever propoſes any ſcheme, which may prove

to be a public benefit, I ſhall not quarrel, if it prove likewiſe very beneficial to himſelf. It is certain, that, next to the want of ſilver, our greateſt diſtreſs in point of coin is the want of ſmall change, which may be ſome poor relief for the defect of the former, ſince the crown will not pleaſe to take that work upon them here, as they do in England. One thing in Mr. M'Culla's book is certainly right, that no law hinders me from giving a payable note upon leather, wood, copper, braſs, iron, or any other material (except gold or ſilver) as well as upon paper. The queſtion is, whether I can ſue him on a copper bond, where there is neither hand nor ſeal, nor witneſſes to prove it. To ſupply this, he has propoſed, that the materials upon which this note is written, ſhall be in ſome degree of value equal to the debt. But that is one principal matter to be inquired into. His ſcheme is this:

He gives you a piece of copper for a halfpenny or penny, ſtampt with a promiſſory note to pay you twenty pence for every pound of copper notes, whenever you ſhall return them. Eight and forty of theſe halfpenny pieces are to weigh a pound; and he ſells you that pound, coined and ſtamped, for two ſhillings: by which he clearly gains a little more than 16 *per cent.* that is to ſay, two pence in every ſhilling.

This will certainly ariſe to a great ſum, if he ſhould circulate as large a quantity of his notes as the kingdom, under the great dearth of ſilver, may very probably require: enough indeed to make any

Iriſh

Iriſh tradeſman's fortune; which, however, I ſhould not repine at in the leaſt, if we could be ſure of his fair dealing. It was obvious for me to raiſe the common objection, why Mr. M'Culla would not give ſecurity to pay the whole ſum to any man who returned him his copper notes, as my lord Dartmouth and colonel Moor were, by their patents, obliged to do. To which he gave me ſome anſwers plauſible enough. Firſt, "He "conceived his coins were much nearer to the in- "trinſic value, than any of thoſe coined by pa- "tents, the bulk and goodneſs of the metal equal- "ling the beſt Engliſh halfpence made by the "crown: That he apprehended the ill-will of en- "vious and deſigning people; who, if they found "him to have a great vent for his notes, ſince he "wanted the protection of a patent, might make a "run upon him, which he could not be able to "ſupport: And laſtly, that, his copper (as is al- "ready ſaid) being equal in value and bulk to the "Engliſh halfpence, he did not apprehend they "ſhould ever be returned, unleſs a combination, "proceeding, from ſpite and envy, might be "formed againſt him."

But there are ſome points in his propoſal which I cannot well anſwer for; nor do I know whether he will be able to do it himſelf. The firſt is, whether the copper he gives us will be as good as what the crown provided for the Engliſh halfpence and farthings; and, ſecondly, whether he will always continue to give us as good; and thirdly, when he will think fit to ſtop his hand, and give us no more?

for I ſhould be as ſorry to be at the mercy of Mr. M'Culla, as of Mr. Wood.

There is another difficulty of the laſt importance. It is known enough that the crown is ſuppoſed to be neither gainer nor loſer by coinage of any metal: for they ſubtract, or ought to ſubtract, no more from the intrinſic value than what will juſt pay the charges of the mint; and how much that will amount to is the queſtion. By what I could gather from Mr. M'Culla, good copper is worth fourteen pence *per* pound. By this computation, if he ſells his copper notes for two ſhillings the pound, and will pay twenty pence back, then the expence of coinage for one pound of copper muſt be ſixpence, which is 30 *per cent.* The world ſhould be particularly ſatisfied on this article, before he vends notes; for the diſcount of 30 *per cent*, is prodigious, and vaſtly more than I can conceive it ought to be. For, if we add to that proportion the 16 *per cent.* which he avows to keep for his own profit, there will be a diſcount of about 46 *per cent.* Or, to reckon, I think, a fairer way; whoever buys a pound of Mr. M'Culla's coin, at two ſhillings *per* pound, carries home only the real value of fourteen pence, which is a pound of copper; and thus he is a loſer of 41 l. 13 s. 4 d. *per cent.* But, however, this high diſcount of 30 *per cent.* will be no objection againſt M'Culla's propoſal; becauſe, if the charge of coinage will honeſtly amount to ſo much, and we ſuppoſe his copper notes may be returned upon him, he will be the greater ſufferer of the two; becauſe the buyer

can

can loſe but four pence in a pound, and M'Culla muſt loſe ſix pence, which was the charge of the coinage.

Upon the whole, there are ſome points which muſt be ſettled to the general ſatisfaction, before we can ſafely take Mr. M'Culla's copper notes for value received; and how he will give that ſatisfaction, is not within my knowledge or conjecture. The firſt point is, that we ſhall be always ſure of receiving good copper, equal in bulk and fineneſs to the beſt Engliſh halfpence.

The ſecond point is, to know what allowance he makes to himſelf, either out of the weight or mixture of his copper, or both, for the charge of coinage. As to the weight, the matter is eaſy by his own ſcheme; for, as I have ſaid before, he propoſes forty-eight to weigh a pound, which he gives you for two ſhillings, and receives it by the pound at twenty pence: ſo that, ſuppoſing pure copper to be fourteen pence a pound, he makes you pay 30 *per cent.* for the labour of coining, as I have already obſerved, beſides 16 *per cent.* when he ſells it. But if to this he adds any alloy, to debaſe the metal, although it be not above 10 *per cent.*; then Mr. M'Culla's promiſſory notes will, to the intrinſic value of the metal, be above 47 *per cent.* diſcount.

For, ſubtracting 10 *per cent.* off ſixty pounds worth of copper, it will (to avoid fractions) be about five and a half *per cent.* in the whole 100l. which, added to — — 41 13 4

5 10 0

will be *per cent.* 47 3 4

That

That we are under great diſtreſs for change; and that Mr. M'Culla's copper notes, on ſuppoſition of the metal being pure, are leſs liable to objection than the project of Wood, may be granted: but ſuch a diſcount, where we are not ſure even of our twenty pence a pound, appears hitherto a dead weight on his ſcheme.

Since I writ this, calling to mind that I had ſome copper halfpence by me, I weighed them with thoſe of Mr. M'Culla, and obſerved as follows.

Firſt, I weighed Mr. M'Culla's halfpenny againſt an Engliſh one of king Charles II.; which outweighed Mr. M'Culla's a fourth-part, or 25 *per cent.*

I likewiſe weighed an Iriſh Patrick and David halfpenny, which outweighed Mr. M'Culla's 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ *per cent.* It had a very fair and deep impreſſion, and milled very ſkilfully round.

I found that even a common Harp halfpenny, well preſerved, weighed equal to Mr. M'Culla's. And even ſome of Wood's halfpence were near equal in weight to his. Therefore, if it be true that he does not think Wood's copper to have been faulty, he may probably give us no better.

I have laid theſe looſe thoughts together with little order, to give you, and others who may read them, an opportunity of digeſting them better. I am no enemy to Mr. M'Culla's project; but I would have it put upon a better foot. I own that this halfpenny of king Charles II., which I weighed againſt Mr. M'Culla's, was of the faireſt kind I had

ſeen.

ſeen. However, it is plain, the crown could afford it without being a loſer. But it is probable that the officers of the mint were then more honeſt than they have ſince thought fit to be; for I confeſs not to have met thoſe of any other year ſo weighty, or in appearance of ſo good metal, among all the copper coins of the three laſt reigns; yet theſe, however, did much outweigh thoſe of Mr. M'Culla; for I have tried the experiment on a hundred of them. I have indeed ſeen accidentally one or two very light: but it muſt certainly have been done by chance; or rather I ſuppoſe them to be counterfeits. Be that as it will, it is allowed on all hands, that good copper was never known to be cheaper than it is at preſent. I am ignorant of the price, farther than by his informing me that it is only fourteen pence a pound; by which, I obſerve, he charges the coinage at 30 *per cent.*; and therefore I cannot but think his demands are exorbitant. But, to ſay the truth, the dearneſs or cheapneſs of the metal does not properly enter into the queſtion. What we deſire is, that it ſhould be of the beſt kind, and as weighty as can be afforded; that the profit of the contriver ſhould be reduced from 16 to 8 *per cent.* and the charge of coinage, if poſſible, from 30 to 10, or 15 at moſt.

Mr. M'Culla muſt alſo give good ſecurity that he will coin only a determinate ſum, not exceeding twenty thouſand pounds; by which, although he ſhould deal with all uprightneſs imaginable, and make his coin as good as that I weighed of king Charles II. he will, at 16 *per cent.* gain three thouſand

ſand two hundred pounds: a very good additional job to a private tradeſman's fortune!

I muſt adviſe him alſo to employ better workmen, and make his impreſſions deeper and plainer; by which a riſing rim may be left about the edge of his coin, to preſerve the letter from wearing out too ſoon. He has no wardens, or maſters, or other officers of the mint, to ſuck up his profit; and, therefore, can afford to coin cheaper than the crown, if he will but find good materials, proper implements, and ſkilful workmen.

Whether this project will ſucceed in Mr. M'Culla's hands (which, if it be honeſtly executed, I ſhould be glad to ſee) one thing I am confident of, that it might be eaſily brought to perfection by a ſociety of nine or ten honeſt gentlemen of fortune, who wiſh well to their country, and would be content to be neither gainers nor loſers, farther than the bare intereſt of their money. And Mr. M'Culla, as being the firſt ſtarter of the ſcheme, might be conſidered and rewarded by ſuch a ſociety; whereof, although I am not a man of fortune, I ſhould think it an honour and happineſs to be one, even with borrowed money upon the beſt ſecurity I could give. And, firſt, I am confident, without any ſkill but by general reaſon, that the charge of coining copper would be very much leſs than 30 *per cent.* Secondly, I believe ten thouſand pounds, in halfpence and farthings, would be ſufficient for the whole kingdom, even under our great and moſt unneceſſary diſtreſs for the want of ſilver; and that, without ſuch a diſtreſs, half the

ſum would ſuffice. For, I compute and reaſon thus: the city of Dublin, by a groſs computation, contains ten thouſand families; and I am told by ſhopkeepers, "that, if ſilver were as plenty as "uſual, two ſhillings in copper would be ſufficient, "in the courſe of buſineſs, for each family." But, in conſideration of the want of ſilver, I would allow five ſhillings to each family, which would amount to 2,500l.; and, to help this, I would recommend a currency of all the genuine undefaced Harp halfpence, which are left of lord Dartmouth's and Moor's patents under K. Charles II.; and the ſmall Patrick and David for farthings. To the reſt of the kingdom, I would aſſign the 7,500l. remaining; reckoning Dublin to anſwer one fourth of the kingdom, as London is judged to anſwer (if I miſtake not) one third of England; I mean in the view of money only.

To compute our want of ſmall change by the number of ſouls in the kingdom, beſide being perplexed, is, I think, by no means juſt. They have been reckoned at a million and a half; whereof a million at leaſt are beggars in all circumſtances except that of wandering about for alms, and that circumſtance may arrive ſoon enough, when it will be time to add another ten thouſand pounds in copper. But, without doubt, the families of Ireland, who lie chiefly under the difficulties of wanting ſmall change, cannot be above forty or fifty thouſand; which the ſum of ten thouſand pounds, with the addition of the faireſt old halfpence, would tolerably ſupply: for, if we give

give too great a looſe to any projector to pour in upon us what he pleaſes, the kingdom will be (how ſhall I expreſs it under our preſent circumſtances?) more than undone.

And hence appears, in a very ſtrong light, the villainy of Wood, who propoſed the coinage of one hundred and eighty thouſand pounds in copper, for the uſe of Ireland; whereby every family in the kingdom would be loaded with ten or a dozen ſhillings, although Wood might not tranſgreſs the bounds of his patent, and although no counterfeits, either at home or abroad, were added to the number; the contrary to both which would indubitably have arrived. So ill-informed are great men on the other ſide, who talk of a million with as little ceremony as we do of half-a-crown!

But, to return to the propoſal I have made: ſuppoſe ten gentlemen, lovers of their country, ſhould raiſe 200l. apiece; and, from the time the money is depoſited as they ſhall agree, ſhould begin to charge it with ſeven *per cent.* for their own uſe: that they ſhould, as ſoon as poſſible, provide a mint and good workmen, and buy copper ſufficient for coining two thouſand pounds, ſubtracting a fifth-part of the intereſt of ten thouſand pounds for the charges of the tools, and fitting up a place for a mint; the other four parts of the ſame intereſt to be ſubtracted equally out of the four remaining coinages of 2000 l. each, with a juſt allowance for other neceſſary incidents. Let the charge of coinage be fairly reckoned; and the kingdom informed of it, as well as of the price of copper. Let the

coin be as well and deeply ſtamped as it ought. Let the metal be as pure as can conſiſt to have it rightly coined (wherein I am wholly ignorant) and the bulk as large as that of king Charles II. And let this club of ten gentlemen give their joint ſecurity to receive all the coins they iſſue out for ſeven or ten years, and return gold and ſilver without any defalcation.

Let the ſame club, or company, when they have iſſued out the firſt two thouſand pounds, go on the ſecond year, if they find a demand, and that their ſcheme has anſwered to their own intention as well as to the ſatisfaction of the publick. And, if they find ſeven *per cent.* not ſufficient, let them ſubtract eight, beyond which I would not have them go. And when they have, in two years, coined ten thouſand pounds, let them give public notice that they will proceed no farther, but ſhut up their mint, and diſmiſs their workmen; unleſs the real, univerſal, unſolicited declaration of the nobility and gentry of the kingdom ſhall ſignify a deſire that they ſhould go on for a certain ſum farther.

This company may enter into certain regulations among themſelves; one of which ſhould be, to keep nothing concealed, and duly to give an account to the world of their whole methods of acting.

Give me leave to compute, wholly at random, what charge the kingdom will be at, by the loſs of intrinſic value in the coinage of 10,000l. in copper, under the management of ſuch a ſociety of gentlemen.

Firſt,

Firſt, It is plain, that inſtead of ſomewhat more than 16 *per cent.* as demanded by Mr. M'Culla, this ſociety deſires but 8 *per cent.*

Secondly, Whereas Mr. M'Culla charges the expence of coinage at 30 *per cent.* I hope and believe this ſociety will be able to perform it at 10.

Whereas it does not appear that Mr. M'Culla can give any ſecurity for the goodneſs of his copper, becauſe not one in ten thouſand have the ſkill to diſtinguiſh; the ſociety will be all engaged that theirs ſhall be of the beſt ſtandard.

Fourthly, That whereas Mr. M'Culla's halfpence are one fourth part lighter than that kind coined in the time of king Charles II., theſe gentlemen will oblige themſelves to the publick, to give the coin of the ſame weight and goodneſs with thoſe halfpence, unleſs they ſhall find they cannot afford it; and, in that caſe, they ſhall beforehand inform the publick, ſhew their reaſons, and ſignify how large they can make them without being loſers; and ſo give over or purſue their ſcheme, as they find the opinion of the world to be. However, I do not doubt but they can afford them as large, and of as good metal, as the beſt Engliſh halfpence that have been coined in the three laſt reigns, which very much out-weigh thoſe of Mr. M'Culla. And this advantage will ariſe in proportion, by leſſening the charge of coinage from 30 *per cent.* to 10 or 15, or 20 at moſt. But I confeſs myſelf in the dark on that article: only I think it impoſſible it ſhould amount to any proportion near 30 *per cent.*; otherwiſe the coiners of thoſe counterfeit halfpence

halfpence called Raps would have little encouragement to follow their trade.

But the indubitable advantages, by having the management in ſuch a ſociety, would be the paying 8 *per cent.* inſtead of 16, the being ſure of the goodneſs and juſt weight of the coin, and the period to be put to any farther coinage than what was abſolutely neceſſary to ſupply the wants and deſires of the kingdom: and all this under the ſecurity of ten gentlemen of credit and fortune, who would be ready to give the beſt ſecurity and ſatisfaction, that they had no deſign to turn the ſcheme into a job.

As to any miſtakes I have made in computation, they are of little moment; and I ſhall not deſcend ſo low as to juſtify them againſt any caviller.

The ſtrongeſt objections againſt what I offer, and which perhaps may make it appear viſionary, is the difficulty to find half a ſcore gentlemen, who, out of a public ſpirit, will be at the trouble, for no more profit than one *per cent.* above the legal intereſt, to be overſeers of a mint for five years; and perhaps, without any juſtice, raiſe the clamour of the people againſt them. Beſides, it is moſt certain that many a ſquire is as fond of a job, and as dextrous to make the beſt of it, as Mr. M'Culla himſelf, or any of his level. However, I do not doubt but there may be ten ſuch perſons in this town, if they had only ſome viſible mark to know them at ſight. Yet I juſt foreſee another inconveniency; that knaviſh men are fitter to deal with others of their own denomination; while thoſe

who are honeſt and beſt-intentioned may be the inſtruments of as much miſchief to the publick, for want of cunning, as the greateſt knaves; and more, becauſe of the charitable opinion which they are apt to have of others. Therefore, how to join the prudence of the ſerpent, with the innocency of the dove, in this affair, is the moſt difficult point. It is not ſo hard to find an honeſt man, as to make this honeſt man active, and vigilant, and ſkilful; which, I doubt, will require a ſpur of profit greater than my ſcheme will afford him, unleſs he will be contented with the honour of ſerving his country, and the reward of a good conſcience.

After reviewing what I had written, I ſee very well that I have not given any allowance for the firſt charge of preparing all things neceſſary for coining, which, I am told, will amount to about 200l. beſide 20 l. *per annum* for five years rent of a houſe to work in. I can only ſay, that, this making in all 300l. it will be an addition of no more than 3 *per cent.* out of 10,000l.

But the great advantages to the publick, by having the coinage placed in the hands of ten gentlemen ſuch as I have already deſcribed (if ſuch are to be found) are theſe:

Firſt, They propoſe no other gain to themſelves than 1 *per cent.* above the legal intereſt for the money they advance; which will hardly afford them coffee when they meet at their mint-houſe.

Secondly, They bind themſelves to make their coins of as good copper as the beſt Engliſh halfpence, and as well coined, and of equal weight:

and

and do likewiſe bind themſelves to charge the publick with not one farthing for the expence of coinage, more than it ſhall really ſtand them in.

Thirdly, They will, for a limited term of ſeven or ten years, as ſhall be thought proper upon mature conſideration, pay gold and ſilver, without any defalcation, for all their own coin that ſhall be returned upon their hands.

Fourthly, They will take care that the coins ſhall have a deep impreſſion, leaving a riſing rim on both ſides, to prevent their being defaced in a long time; and the edges ſhall be milled.

I ſuppoſe they need not be very apprehenſive of counterfeits, which it will be difficult to make ſo as not to be diſcovered: for it is plain that thoſe bad halfpence called Raps, are ſo eaſily diſtinguiſhed, even from the moſt worn genuine halfpenny, that nobody will now take them for a farthing, although under the great preſent want of change.

I ſhall here ſubjoin ſome computations relating to Mr. M'Culla's copper notes. They were ſent to me by a perſon well ſkilled in ſuch calculations: and therefore I refer them to the reader.

Mr. M'Culla charges good copper at fourteen pence *per* pound; but I know not whether he means Avoirdupois or Troy weight.

Avoirdupois is ſixteen ounces to a pound - -	6960 grains.
A pound Troy weight -	5760 grains.

Mr. M'Culla's copper is fourteen pence *per* pound Avoirdupois.

Two of Mr. M'Culla's penny-notes, one with another, weigh - - 524 grains.
By which computation, two ſhillings of his notes, which he ſells for one pound weight, will weigh - 6288 grains.
But one pound Avoirdupois weighs, as above, - - 6960 grains.

This difference makes 10 *per cent.* to Mr. M'Culla's profit, in point of weight.
The old Patrick and David halfpenny weighs - - - 149 grains.
Mr. M'Culla's halfpenny weighs 131 grains.

The difference is 18
Which is equal to 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ *per cent.*
The Engliſh halfpenny of king Charles II. weighs - 167 grains.
M'Culla's halfpenny weighs - 131 grains.

The difference 36
Which difference allowed, a fifth part is 20 *per cent.*

ANOTHER COMPUTATION.

Mr. M'Culla allows his pound of copper (coinage included) to be worth 20 pence; for which he demands two ſhillings.

His coinage he computes at ſix pence *per* pound weight; therefore, laying out only twenty pence, and

and gaining four pence, he makes *per cent.* profit - - - - 20

The ſix pence *per* pound weight, allowed for coinage, makes *per cent.* 30

The want of weight in his halfpenny, compared as above, is *per cent.* 10

By all which (viz. coinage, profit, and want of weight) the publick loſes *per cent.* - 60

If Mr. M'Culla's coins will not paſs, and he refuſes to receive them back, the owner cannot ſell them at above twelve pence *per* pound; whereby, with the defect of weight of 10 *per cent.* he will loſe 60 *per cent.*

The ſcheme of the ſociety, raiſed as high as it can poſſibly be, will be only thus:

For intereſt of their money *per cent.* 8

For coinage, inſtead of 10, ſuppoſe, at moſt, *per cent.* - - - 20

For 300l. laid out for tools, a mint, and houſe rent, charge 3 *per cent.* upon the coinage of 10,000l. - - 3

Charges in all, upon intereſt, coinage, &c. *per cent.* 31

Which, with all the advantages above-mentioned, of the goodneſs of the metal, the largeneſs of the coin, the deepneſs and fairneſs of the impreſſion, the aſſurance of the ſociety confining itſelf to ſuch a ſum as they undertake, or as the kingdom ſhall approve; and laſtly, their paying in gold or ſilver for all their coin returned upon their

hands, without any defalcation, would be of mighty benefit to the kingdom; and, with a little ſteadineſs and activity, could, I doubt not, be eaſily compaſſed.

I would not in this ſcheme recommend the method of promiſſory notes, after Mr. M'Culla's manner; but, as I have ſeen in old Iriſh coins, the words CIVITAS DVBLIN. on one ſide, with the year of our Lord and the Iriſh Harp on the reverſe,

A

LETTER

TO THE

WRITER

OF THE

OCCASIONAL PAPER.

[Vide the CRAFTSMAN, 1727.]

SIR,

ALTHOUGH, in one of your papers, you declare an intention of turning them, during the dead ſeaſon of the year, into accounts of domeſtic and foreign intelligence; yet, I think, we your correſpondents ſhould not underſtand your meaning ſo literally, as if you intended to reject inſerting any other paper, which might probably be uſeful for the publick. Neither indeed am I fully convinced, that this new courſe you reſolve to take, will render you more ſecure than your former laudauble practice, of inſerting ſuch ſpeculations, as were ſent you by ſeveral well-wiſhers to the good of the kingdom; however grating ſuch notices might be to ſome, who wanted neither power nor inclination to reſent them at your coſt: for, ſince

there is a direct law againſt ſpreading falſe news, if you ſhould venture to tell us in one of the Craftſmen that the dey of Algiers had got the tooth-ach, or the king of Bantam had taken a purge; and the facts ſhould be contradicted in ſucceeding pacquets; I do not ſee what plea you could offer, to avoid the utmoſt penalty of the law, becauſe you are not ſuppoſed to be very gracious among thoſe who are moſt able to hurt you.

Beſides, as I take your intentions to be ſincerely meant for the public ſervice; ſo your original method of entertaining and inſtructing us, will be more general, and more uſeful in this ſeaſon of the year, when people are retired to amuſements more cool, more innocent, and much more reaſonable, than thoſe they have left; when their paſſions are ſubſided or ſuſpended; when they have no occaſions of inflaming themſelves, or each other; where they will have opportunities of hearing common ſenſe, every day in the week, from their tenants or neighbouring farmers; and thereby be qualified, in hours of rain or leiſure, to read and conſider the advice or information you ſhall ſend them.

Another weighty reaſon why you ſhould not alter your manner of writing, by dwindling to a news-monger, is, becauſe there is no ſuſpenſion of arms agreed on between you and your adverſaries; who fight with a ſort of weapons which have two wonderful qualities, that they are never to be worn out, and are beſt wielded by the weakeſt hands, and which the poverty of our language forces me

to

o call, by the trite appellations of Scurrility, Slander, and Billingſgate. I am far from thinking that theſe gentlemen, or rather their employers, (for the operators themſelves are too obſcure to be gueſſed at) ſhould be anſwered after their own way, although it were poſſible to drag them out of their obſcurity: but I wiſh you would inquire what real uſe ſuch a conduct is, to the cauſe they have been ſo largely paid to defend. The author of the three firſt Occaſional Letters, a perſon altogether unknown, has been thought to glance (for what reaſons he beſt knows) at ſome public proceedings, as if they were not agreeable to his private opinions. In anſwer to this, the pamphleteers retained on the other ſide, are inſtructed by their ſuperiors, to ſingle out an adverſary, whoſe abilities they have moſt reaſon to apprehend; and to load himſelf, his family, and friends, with all the infamy, that a perpetual converſation in Bridewell, Newgate, and the ſtews, could furniſh them; but, at the ſame time, ſo very unluckily, that the moſt diſtinguiſhing parts of their characters, ſtrike directly in the face of their benefactor; whoſe idea, preſenting itſelf along with his guineas perpetually to their imagination, occaſioned this deſperate blunder.

But, allowing this heap of ſlander to be truth, and applied to the proper perſon; what is to be the conſequence? Are our public debts to be the ſooner paid; the corruptions that author complains of, to be the ſooner cured; an honourable peace, or a glorious war, the more likely to enſue; trade to flouriſh; the Oſtend company to be demoliſhed;

Gibraltar and Port Mahon left entire in our poſſeſſion; the balance of Europe to be preſerved; the malignity of parties to be for ever at an end; none but perſons of merit, virtue, genius, and learning, to be encouraged? I aſk whether any of theſe effects will follow, upon the publication of this author's libel, even ſuppoſing he could prove every ſyllable of it to be true?

At the ſame time, I am well aſſured, that the only reaſon of aſcribing thoſe papers to a particular perſon, is built upon the information of a certain pragmatical ſpy of quality, well known to act in that capacity, by thoſe, into whoſe company he inſinuates himſelf; a ſort of perſons, who, although without much love, eſteem, or dread of people in preſent power, yet have too much common prudence, to ſpeak their thoughts with freedom, before ſuch an intruder; who, therefore, impoſes groſsly upon his maſters, if he makes them pay for any thing but his own conjectures.

It is a grievous miſtake in a great miniſter to neglect or deſpiſe, much more to irritate, men of genius and learning. I have heard one of the wiſeſt perſons in my time obſerve, that an adminiſtration was to be known and judged, by the talents of thoſe who appeared their advocates in print. This I muſt never allow to be a general rule; yet I cannot but think it prodigiouſly unfortunate, that among the anſwerers, defenders, repliers, and panegyriſts, ſtarted up in defence of preſent perſons and proceedings, there has not yet ariſen one, whoſe labours we can read with pa-

tience, however we may applaud their loyalty and good-will: and all this, with the advantages of conſtant ready pay, of natural and acquired venom, and a grant of the whole fund of ſlander, to range over and riot in as they pleaſe.

On the other ſide, a turbulent writer of Occaſional Letters, and other vexatious papers, in conjunction perhaps with one or two friends as bad as himſelf, is able to diſconcert, teaſe, and ſour us, whenever he thinks fit, merely by the ſtrength of genius and truth; and after ſo dextrous a manner, that when we are vexed to the ſoul, and well know the reaſons why we are ſo, we are aſhamed to own the firſt, and cannot tell how to expreſs the other. In a word, it ſeems to me that all the writers are on one ſide, and all the railers on the other.

However, I do not pretend to aſſert that it is impoſſible for an ill miniſter to find men of wit, who may be drawn, by a very valuable conſideration, to undertake his defence: but the misfortune is, that the heads of ſuch writers rebel againſt their hearts; their genius forſakes them, when they would offer to proſtitute it to the ſervice of injuſtice, corruption, party-rage, and falſe repreſentations of things and perſons.

And this is the beſt argument I can offer in defence of great men, who have been of late ſo very unhappy in the choice of their paper-champions: although I cannot much commend their good huſbandry, in thoſe exorbitant payments, of twenty, and ſixty guineas at a time, for a ſcurvy pamphlet; ſince the ſort of work they require, is what will all come

come within the talents of any one, who has enjoyed the happineſs of a very bad education, has kept the vileſt company, is endowed with a ſervile ſpirit, is maſter of an empty purſe, and a heart full of malice.

But, to ſpeak the truth in ſoberneſs; it ſhould ſeem a little hard, ſince the old Whiggiſh principle has been recalled, of ſtanding up for the liberty of the preſs, to a degree that no man, for ſeveral years paſt, durſt venture out a thought, which did not ſquare to a point, with the maxims and practices that then prevailed: I ſay, it is a little hard, that the vileſt mercenaries ſhould be countenanced, preferred, rewarded, for diſcharging their brutalities againſt men of honour, only upon a bare conjecture.

If it ſhould happen that theſe profligates have attacked an innocent perſon, I aſk, what ſatisfaction can their hirers give in return? Not all the wealth raked together by the moſt corrupt rapacious miniſters, in the longeſt courſe of unlimited power, would be ſufficient to atone for the hundredth part of ſuch an injury.

In the common way of thinking, it is a ſituation ſufficient in all conſcience to ſatisfy a reaſonable ambition, for a private perſon to command the laws, the forces, the revenues of a great kingdom; to reward and advance his followers and flatterers as he pleaſes, and to keep his enemies (real or imaginary) in the duſt. In ſuch an exaltation, why ſhould he be at the trouble to make uſe of fools to ſound his praiſes, (becauſe I always thought the

ion was hard ſet, when he choſe the aſs for his rumpeter) or knaves to revenge his quarrel, at the expence of innocent mens reputations?

With all thoſe advantages, I cannot ſee why perſons in the height of power, ſhould be under the leaſt concern on account of their reputation, for which they have no manner of uſe; or to ruin that of others, which may perhaps be the only poſſeſſion their enemies have left them. Suppoſing times of corruption, which I am very far from doing; if a writer diſplays them in their proper colours, does he do any thing worſe than ſending cuſtomers to the ſhop? "Here only, at the ſign of "The Brazen Head, are to be ſold places and "penſions: beware of counterfeits, and take care "of miſtaking the door."

For my own part, I think it very unneceſſary to give the character of a great miniſter in the fullneſs of his power, becauſe it is a thing that naturally does itſelf, and is obvious to the eyes of all mankind; for his perſonal qualities are all derived into the moſt minute parts of his adminiſtration. If this be juſt, prudent, regular, impartial, intent upon the public good, prepared for preſent exigencies, and provident of the future; ſuch is the director himſelf in his private capacity: if it be rapacious, inſolent, partial, palliating long and deep diſeaſes of the publick, with empirical remedies, falſe, diſguiſed, impudent, malicious, revengeful; you ſhall infallibly find the private life of the conductor, to anſwer in every point; nay, what is more, every twinge of the gout or gravel, will be

felt

felt in their conſequences by the community: as the thief-catcher, upon viewing a houſe broke open, could immediately diſtinguiſh, from the manner of the workmanſhip, by what hand it was done.

It is hard to form a maxim againſt which an exception is not ready to ſtart up: ſo, in the preſent caſe, where the miniſter grows enormouſly rich, the publick is proportionably poor; as, in a private family, the ſteward always thrives the faſteſt, when his lord is running out. * * * *

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OF

PUBLIC ABSURDITIES IN ENGLAND.

IT is a common topick of ſatire, which you will hear not only from the mouths of miniſters of ſtate, but of every whiffler in office, that half a dozen obſcure fellows, over a bottle of wine or a diſh of coffee, ſhall preſume to cenſure the actions of parliaments and councils, to form ſchemes of government, and new-model the commonwealth; and this uſually ridiculed as a pragmatical diſpoſition to politicks, in the very nature and genius of the people. It may poſſibly be true: and yet I am groſsly deceived if any ſober man, of very moderate talents, when he reflects upon the many ridiculous hurtful maxims, cuſtoms, and general rules of life, which prevail in this kingdom, would not with great reaſon be tempted, according to the preſent turn of his humour, either to laugh, lament, or be angry; or, if he were ſanguine enough, perhaps to dream of a remedy. It is the miſtake of wiſe and good men, that they expect more reaſon and virtue from human nature, than, taking it in the bulk, it is in any ſort capable of. Whoever has been preſent at councils or aſſemblies of any ſort, if he be a man of common prudence, cannot but have obſerved ſuch reſults and opinions to have frequently

frequently paſſed a majority, as he would be aſhamed to advance in private converſation. I ſay nothing of cruelty, oppreſſion, injuſtice, and the like, becauſe theſe are fairly to be accounted for in all aſſemblies, as beſt gratifying the paſſions and intereſts of leaders; which is a point of ſuch high conſideration, that all others muſt give place to it. But I would be underſtood here to ſpeak only of opinions ridiculous, fooliſh, and abſurd; with concluſions and actions ſuitable to them, at the ſame time when the moſt reaſonable propoſitions are often unanimouſly rejected. And as all aſſemblies of men are liable to this accuſation, ſo likewiſe there are natural abſurdities from which the wiſeſt ſtates are not exempt; which proceed leſs from the nature of their climate, than that of their government; the Gauls, the Britons, the Spaniards, and Italians, having retained very little of the characters given them in antient hiſtory.

By theſe, and the like reflections, I have been often led to conſider ſome public abſurdities in our own country, moſt of which are, in my opinion, directly againſt the rules of right reaſon, and are attended with great inconveniencies to the ſtate. I ſhall mention ſuch of them as come into memory, without obſerving any method; and I ſhall give my reaſon why I take them to be abſurd in their nature, and pernicious in their conſequence.

It is abſurd that any perſon, who profeſſes a different form of worſhip, from that which is national, ſhould be truſted with a vote for electing members into the houſe of commons: becauſe every

man,

nan is full of zeal for his own religion, although ıe regards not morality; and therefore will endea-vour to his utmoſt, to bring in a repreſentative of ıis own principles, which, if they be popular, nay endanger the religion eſtabliſhed; and which, ıs it has formerly happened, may alter the whole frame of government.

A ſtanding army in England, whether in time of peace or war, is a direct abſurdity: for it is no part of our buſineſs to be a warlike nation, other-wiſe than by our fleets. In foreign wars we have ıo concern, farther than in conjunction with allies, whom we may either aſſiſt by ſea, or by foreign troops paid with our money: but mercenary troops n England, can be of no uſe, except to awe ſe-nates, and thereby promote arbitrary power, in a nonarchy, or oligarchy.

That the election of ſenators ſhould be of any charge to the candidates, is an abſurdity; but that t ſhould be ſo to a miniſtry, is a manifeſt acknow-edgement of the worſt deſigns. If a miniſtry in-ended the ſervice of their prince and country, or well underſtood wherein their own ſecurity beſt conſiſted, (as it is impoſſible that a parliament freely elected, according to the original inſtitution, can do any hurt to a tolerable prince or tolerable miniſtry) they would uſe the ſtrongeſt methods to eave the people to their own free choice: the nembers would then conſiſt of perſons, who had beſt eſtates in the neighbourhood or county, or at caſt, never of ſtrangers. And ſurely this is at leaſt full as requiſite a circumſtance to a legiſlator, as to

a juryman, who ought to be, if poſſible, *ex vicinio*; ſince ſuch perſons, muſt be ſuppoſed the beſt judges, of the wants and deſires, of their ſeveral boroughs and counties. To chooſe a repreſentative for Berwick, whoſe eſtate is at Land's End, would have been thought in former times a very great ſoleciſm. How much more as it is at preſent, where ſo many perſons are returned for boroughs, who do not poſſeſs a foot of land in the kingdom?

By the old conſtitution, whoever poſſeſſed a freehold in land, by which he was a gainer of forty ſhillings a year, had the privilege to vote for a knight of the ſhire. The good effects of this law are wholly eluded, partly by the courſe of time, and partly by corruption. Forty ſhillings, in thoſe ages, were equal to twenty pounds in ours; and therefore it was then a want of ſagacity, to fix that privilege to a determinate ſum, rather than to a certain quantity of land, arable or paſture, able to produce a certain quantity of corn or hay. And therefore it is highly abſurd, and againſt the intent of the law, that this defect is not regulated.

But the matter is ſtill worſe; for any gentleman can, upon occaſion, make as many freeholders, as his eſtate or ſettlement will allow, by making leaſes for life of land at a rack rent of forty ſhillings; where a tenant, who is not worth one farthing a year when his rent is paid, ſhall be held a legal voter for a perſon to repreſent his county. Neither do I enter into half the frauds that are practiſed upon this occaſion.

It is likewiſe abſurd, that boroughs decayed are not abſolutely extinguiſhed, becauſe the returned members do in reality repreſent nobody at all; and that ſeveral large towns are not repreſented, though full of induſtrious townſmen, who much advance the trade of the kingdom.

The claim of ſenators, to have themſelves and ſervants exempted from law-ſuits and arreſts, is manifeſtly abſurd. The proceedings at law are already ſo ſcandalous a grievance, upon account of the delays, that they little need any addition. Whoever is either not able, or not willing, to pay his juſt debts, or, to keep other men out of their lands, would evade the deciſion of the law, is ſurely but ill-qualified to be a legiſlator. A criminal with as good reaſon might ſit on the bench, with a power of condemning men to be hanged for their honeſty. By the annual ſitting of parliaments, and the days of privilege preceding and ſubſequent, a ſenator is one half of the year beyond the reach of common juſtice.

That the ſacred perſon of a ſenator's footman ſhall be free from arreſt, although he undoes the poor ale-wife by running on ſcore, is a circumſtance of equal wiſdom and juſtice, to avoid the great evil of his maſter's lady wanting her complement of liveries behind the coach.

SHORT

REMARKS

ON

BISHOP BURNET'S HISTORY.

THIS author is in moſt particulars the worſt qualified for an hiſtorian that ever I met with. His ſtyle is rough, full of improprieties, in expreſſions often Scotch, and often ſuch as are uſed by the meaneſt people. He diſcovers a great ſcarcity of words and phraſes, by repeating the ſame ſeveral hundred times, for want of capacity to vary them. His obſervations are mean and trite, and very often falſe. His Secret Hiſtory is generally made up of coffee-houſe ſcandals, or at beſt from reports at the third, fourth, or fifth hand. The account of the Pretender's birth, would only become an old woman in a chimney-corner. His vanity runs intolerably through the whole book, affecting to have been of conſequence at nineteen years old, and while he was a little Scotch parſon of 40 pounds a year. He was a gentleman born, and in the time of his youth and vigour, drew in an old maiden daughter of a Scotch Earl to marry him. His characters are miſerably wrought, in many things miſtaken, and all of them detracting, except of thoſe who were friends to the Preſbyterians.

rians. That early love of liberty he boaſts of, is abſolutely falſe; for the firſt book that I believe he ever publiſhed, is an entire treatiſe in favour of paſſive obedience and abſolute power; ſo that his reflections on the clergy, for aſſerting, and then changing thoſe principles, come very improperly from him. He is the moſt partial of all writers that ever pretended ſo much to impartiality; and yet I, who knew him well, am convinced that he is as impartial as he could poſſibly find in his heart; I am ſure more than I ever expected from him; particularly in his accounts of the Papiſt and Fanatic plots. This work may be more properly called A Hiſtory of Scotland during the author's time, with ſome digreſſions relating to England, rather than deſerve the title he gives it. For I believe two thirds of it relate only to that beggarly nation, and their inſignificant brangles and factions. What he ſucceeds beſt in, is in giving extracts of arguments and debates in council or parliament. Nothing recommends his book but the recency of the facts he mentions, moſt of them being ſtill in memory, eſpecially the ſtory of the Revolution; which, however, is not ſo well told as might be expected from one who affects to have had ſo conſiderable a ſhare in it. After all, he was a man of generoſity and good-nature, and very communicative; but, in his ten laſt years, was abſolutely party-mad, and fancied he ſaw Popery under every buſh. He has told me many paſſages not mentioned in this Hiſtory, and many that are, but with ſeveral circumſtances, ſuppreſſed or altered. He

never gives a good character without one eſſential point, that the perſon was tender to diſſenters, and thought many things in the church ought to be amended.

Setting up for a maxim, Laying down for a maxim, Clapt up, and ſome other words and phraſes, he uſes many hundred times.

Cut out for a Court, a pardoning planet, Clapt up, Left in the lurch, The Mob, Outed, A great beauty, Went roundly to work: All theſe phraſes uſed by the vulgar, ſhew him to have kept mean or illiterate company in his youth.

MEMOIRS

OF

APTAIN JOHN CREICHTON.

FROM HIS OWN MATERIALS.

Drawn up and digeſted by

DR. J. SWIFT, D. S. P. D.

Firſt printed in the Year 1731.

THE PRINTER's

DVERTISEMENT.

WHEN Dr. Swift was at Sir Arthur Acheſon's, at Markethill, in the county of Ar-ı, an old gentleman was recommended to him, :ing a remarkable cavalier in the reigns of les II., James II., and William III.; who had ved with great loyalty and bravery in Scotland ıg the troubles of thoſe reigns, but was ne-:d by the government, although he deſerved rewards from it. As he was reduced in his mſtances, Dr. Swift made him a handſome nt; but ſaid at the ſame time, "Sir, this trifle ınot ſupport you long, and your friends may ɔw tired of you; therefore I would have you ıtrive ſome honeſt means of getting a ſum of ɔney, ſufficient to put you into a way of life of ɔporting yourſelf with independency in your l age." To which captain Creichton (for was the gentleman's name) anſwered, "I ve tired all my friends, and cannot expect any :h extraordinary favours." Then Dr. Swift :d, "Sir, I have heard much of your adven-es; that they are freſh in your memory; that u can tell them with great humour; and that u have taken memorandums of them in writ-;." To which the captain ſaid, "I have; t no one can underſtand them but myſelf."

Then

Then Dr. Swift rejoined, " Sir, get your manu-
" ſcripts, read them to me, and tell me none but
" genuine ſtories; and then I will place them in
" order for you, prepare them for the preſs, and
" endeavour to get you a ſubſcription among my
" friends, as you may do among your own." The captain ſoon after waited on the dean with his papers, and related many adventures to him; which the dean was ſo kind as to put in order of time, to correct the ſtyle, and make a ſmall book of, intitled, THE MEMOIRS OF CAPTAIN JOHN CREICHTON. A ſubſcription was immediately ſet on foot, by the dean's intereſt and recommendation, which raiſed for the captain above two hundred pounds, and made the remaining part of his life very happy and eaſy.

TO THE

READER.

THE author of theſe Memoirs, captain John Creichton, is ſtill alive, and reſides in the orthern part of this kingdom. He is a very honeſt and worthy man, but of the old ſtamp; and is probable that ſome of his principles will not liſh very well in the preſent diſpoſition of the orld. His memoirs are therefore to be received ke a poſthumous work, and as containing facts, hich very few alive, except himſelf, can remember: upon which account, none of his generous ibſcribers are, in the leaſt, anſwerable for many pinions, relating to the publick, both in church nd ſtate, which he ſeems to juſtify; and in the indication of which, to the hazard of his life, and ie loſs of his fortune, he ſpent the moſt uſeful art of his days. Principles, as the world goes, re little more than faſhion; and the apoſtle tells s, that "the faſhion of this world paſſeth away." Ve read with pleaſure the memoirs of ſeveral uthors, whoſe party we diſapprove, if they be writ-n with nature and truth. Curious men are deous to ſee what can be ſaid on both ſides; and ven the virulent flat relation of Ludlow, though ritten in the ſpirit of rage, prejudice, and vanity, oes not want its advocates. This inclines me to ink, that the memoirs of captain Creichton may not

not be unnacceptable to the curious of every party; becauſe, from my knowledge of the man, and the teſtimony of ſeveral conſiderable perſons, of different political denominations, I am confident, that he has not inſerted one paſſage or circumſtance, which he did not know, or, from the beſt intelligence he could get, believe to be true.

Theſe Memoirs are therefore offered to the world in their native ſimplicity. And it was not with little difficulty, that the author was perſuaded by his friends to recollect and put them in order, chiefly for his own juſtification, and partly by the importunity of ſeveral eminent gentlemen, who had a mind that they ſhould turn to ſome profit to the author.

The captain, having made over all his little eſtate to a beloved daughter, upon her marriage, on the condition of being entertained in her houſe for the ſmall remainder of his life, has put it out of his own power, either to ſupply his incidental wants, to pay ſome long-contracted debts, or to gratify his generous nature in being farther uſeful to his family: on which accounts, he deſires to return his moſt humble thanks to his worthy ſubſcribers; and hopes they will conſider him no farther than as an honeſt, well-meaning man, who, by his own perſonal courage and conduct, was able to diſtinguiſh himſelf, under many diſadvantages, to a degree, that few private lives have been attended with ſo many ſingular and extraordinary events.

Beſide the great ſimplicity in the ſtyle and manner of the author, it is a very valuable circumſtance, that

hat his plain relation corrects many miſtaken paſ-
ages in other hiſtorians, which have too long paſ-
ed for truths; and whoever impartially compares
oth, will probably decide in the captain's favour:
or, the memory of old men is ſeldom deceived,
n what paſſed in their youth and vigour of age:
nd if he has, at any time, happened to be miſ-
aken in circumſtances of time or place (with nei-
her of which I can charge him) it was certainly
gainſt his will. Some of his own perſonal diſ-
reſſes and actions, which he has related, might be
lmoſt the ſubject of a tragedy.

Upon the whole, comparing great things to
mall, I know not any memoirs that more reſemble
hoſe of Philip de Comines (which have received ſo
niverſal approbation) than theſe of captain Creich-
on; which are told in a manner equally natural,
nd with equal appearance of truth, although, I con-
eſs, upon affairs in a more obſcure ſcene, and of
eſs importance.

J. S.

MEMOIRS

OF

CAPTAIN JOHN CREICHTON.

THE former part of my life having been attended with ſome paſſages and events, not very common to men of my private and obſcure condition, I have (perhaps induced by the talkativeneſs of old age) very freely and frequently communicated them to ſeveral worthy gentlemen, who were pleaſed to be my friends, and ſome of them my benefactors. Theſe perſons profeſſed themſelves to be ſo well entertained with my ſtory, that they often wiſhed it could be digeſted into order, and publiſhed to the world; believing that ſuch a treatiſe, by the variety of incidents, written in a plain unaffected ſtyle, might be, at leaſt, ſome amuſement to indifferent readers; of ſome example to thoſe who deſire ſtrictly to adhere to their duty and principles; and might ſerve to vindicate my reputation in Scotland, where I am well known; that kingdom having been the chief ſcene of my acting, and where I have been repreſented, by a fanatic rebellious party, as a perſecutor of the ſaints, and a man of blood.

Having loſt the benefit of a thorough ſchool education, by a moſt indiſcreet marriage in all worldly views, although to a very good woman; and in conſequence

quence thereof, being forced to ſeek my fortune in Scotland as a ſoldier, where I forgot all the little I had learned, the reader cannot reaſonably expect to be much pleaſed with my ſtyle, or method, or manner of relating; it is enough, if I never wilfully fail in point of truth, nor offend by malice or partiality. My memory, I thank God, is yet very perfect as to things long paſt; although, like an old man, I retain but little of what has happened ſince I grew into years.

I am likewiſe very ſenſible of an infirmity in many authors, who write their own memoirs, and are apt to lay too much weight upon trifles; which they are vain enough to conceive the world to be as much concerned in as themſelves; yet I remember that Plutarch, in his lives of great men (which I have read in the Engliſh tranſlation) ſays, that the nature and diſpoſition of a man's mind may be often better diſcovered by a ſmall circumſtance, than by an action or event of the greateſt importance. And beſides, it is not improbable that grey hairs may have brought upon me a vanity, to deſire that poſterity may know what manner of man I was.

I lie under another diſadvantage, and indeed a very great one, from the wonderful change of opinions, ſince I firſt made any appearance in the world. I was bred under the principles of the ſtricteſt loyalty to my prince, and in an exact conformity in diſcipline, as well as doctrine, to the church of England; which are neither altered nor ſhaken to this very day; and I am now too old to mend. However, my different ſentiments, ſince my laſt troubles after the Revolution, have never

had

had the leaſt influence either upon my actions or diſcourſe. I have ſubmitted myſelf with entire reſignation, according to St. Paul's precept, "to the "powers that be." I converſe equally with all parties, and am equally favoured by all; and God knows, it is now of little conſequence what my opinions are, under ſuch a weight of age and infirmities, with a very ſcanty ſubſiſtence, which, inſtead of comforting, will hardly ſupport me.

But there is another point, which requires a better apology than I am able to give: a judicious reader will be apt to cenſure me (and I confeſs with reaſon enough) as guilty of a very fooliſh ſuperſtition in relating my dreams, and how I was guided by them with ſucceſs, in diſcovering one or two principal covenanters. I ſhall not eaſily allow myſelf to be, either by nature or education, more ſuperſtitious than other men; but I take the truth to be this: being then full of zeal againſt enthuſiaſtical rebels, and better informed of their lurking holes than moſt officers in the army, this made ſo ſtrong an impreſſion on my mind, that it affected my dreams, when I was directed to the moſt probable places, almoſt as well as if I had been awake, being guided in the night by the ſame conjectures I had made in the day. There could poſſibly be no more in the matter; and God forbid I ſhould pretend to a ſpirit of divination, which would make me reſemble thoſe very hypocritical ſaints, whom it was both my duty and inclination to bring to juſtice, for their many horrid blaſphemies againſt God, rebellions againſt their prince, and barbarities towards their countrymen and fellow-chriſtians.

My

My great-grandfather, Alexander Creichton, of the houſe of Dumfries, in Scotland, in a feud between the Maxwells and the Johnſtons (the chief of the Johnſtons being the lord Johnſton, anceſtor of the preſent marquis of Annandale) ſiding with the latter, and having killed ſome of the former, was forced to fly into Ireland, where he ſettled near Kinard, then a woody country, and now called Calidon: but within a year or two, ſome friends and relations of thoſe Maxwells who had been killed in the feud, coming over to Ireland to purſue their revenge, lay in wait for my great-grandfather in the wood, and ſhot him dead, as he was going to church. This accident happened about the time that James the Sixth of Scotland came to the crown of England.

Alexander, my great-grandfather, left two ſons, and as many daughters; his eldeſt ſon John lived till a year or two after the rebellion in 1641. His houſe was the firſt in Ulſter ſet upon by the Iriſh, who took and impriſoned him at Dungannon; but fortunately making his eſcape, he went to Sir Robert Stuart, who was then in arms for the king, and died in the ſervice.

This John, who was my grandfather, left two ſons, Alexander, my father, and a younger ſon, likewiſe named John; who being a child, but two or three years old at his father's death, was invited to Scotland by the lady Dumfries, there educated by her, and ſent to ſea: he made ſeveral voyages to and from Barbadoes, then ſettled in Scotland, where he died ſome time after the Reſtoration,

leaving, beſide a daughter, one ſon; who, at my charges, was bred up a phyſician, and proved ſo famous in his profeſſion, that he was ſent by her late majeſty queen Anne to cure the king of Portugal of the venereal diſeaſe. He had a thouſand pounds paid him in hand, before he began his journey; but when he arrived at Liſbon, the Portugueze council and phyſicians diſſuaded that king from truſting his perſon with a foreigner. However his majeſty of Portugal ſhewed him ſeveral marks of his eſteem, and, at parting, preſented him with a very rich jewel, which he ſold afterwards for five hundred guineas. He ſtayed there not above ſix weeks, during which time, he got conſiderable practice. After living many years in London, where he grew very rich, he died November 1726, and, as it is believed, without making a will; which is very probable, becauſe, although he had no children, he left me no legacy, who was his couſin-german, and had been his greateſt benefactor by the care and expence of his education. Upon this matter, I muſt add one circumſtance more, how little ſignificant ſoever it may be to others. Mr. Archdeacon Maurice being at London, in order to his journey to France on account of his health, went to viſit the doctor, and put him in mind of me, urging the obligations I had laid upon him. The doctor agreed to ſend me whatever ſum of money the archdeacon ſhould think reaſonable, and deliver it to him on his return from his travels; but unfortunately the doctor died two or three days before the archdeacon came back.

Alexander

Alexander, my father, was about eighteen years old in 1641. The Iriſh rebellion then breaking out, he went to captain Gerard Irvin, his relation, who was then captain of horſe, and afterwards knighted by king Charles the Second. This gentleman, having a party for the king, ſoon after joined with Sir Robert Stuart in the county of Donegal; where, in the courſe of thoſe troubles, they continued ſkirmiſhing, ſometimes with the Iriſh rebels, and ſometimes with thoſe of the Engliſh parliament, after the rebellion in England began; till at length captain Irvin and one Mr. Stuart were taken priſoners, and put in gaol in Derry; which city was kept for the parliament againſt the king, by Sir Charles Coote. Here my father performed a very memorable and gallant action, in reſcuing his relation captain Irvin, and Mr. Stuart. I will relate this fact in all its particulars, not only becauſe it will do ſome honour to my father's memory, but likewiſe becauſe, for its boldneſs and ſucceſs, it ſeems to me very well to deſerve recording.

My father having received information, that Sir Charles Coote, governor of Derry, had publickly declared, that captain Irvin and his companion ſhould be put to death, within two or three days, communicated this intelligence to ſeven truſty friends; who all engaged to aſſiſt him, with the hazard of their lives, in delivering the two gentlemen from the danger that threatened them. They all agreed that my father, and three more, at the hour of ſix in the morning, when the weſt-gate ſtood open, and

the draw-bridge was let down for the governor's horſes to go out to water, ſhould ride in, one by one, after a manner as if they belonged to the town, and there conceal themſelves in a friend's houſe till night; at which time my father was to acquaint captain Irvin and his fellow-priſoner with their deſign, which was to this purpoſe: That, after concerting meaſures at the priſon, my father ſhould repair to a certain place on the city-wall, and give inſtructions to the four without, at twelve at night: accordingly, next morning, as ſoon as the gate was open, my father, with his three comrades, got into the town, and the ſame night having ſettled matters with the two gentlemen, that they ſhould be ready at ſix next morning, at which hour he and his three friends ſhould call upon them; he then went to the wall, and directed the four, who were without, that as ſoon as they ſhould ſee the gate open, and the bridge drawn, one of them ſhould walk up to the centry, and ſecure him from making any noiſe, by holding a piſtol to his breaſt; after which, the other three ſhould ride up, and ſecure the room where the by-guard lay, to prevent them from coming out: moſt of the garriſon were in their beds, which encouraged my father and his friends, and much facilitated the enterprize: therefore, preciſely at ſix o'clock, when the by-guard and centry at the weſtern-gate were ſecured by the four without, my father and the other three within being mounted on horſeback, with one ſpare horſe, in the habit of town's people, with cudgels in their hands, called at the gaol-door, on pretence

to

to ſpeak to captain Irvin, and Mr. Stuart. They were both walking in a large room in the gaol, with the gaoler, and three ſoldiers attending them; but theſe not ſuſpecting the perſons on horſeback before the door, whom they took to be inhabitants of the town, my father aſked captain Irvin, whether he had any commands to a certain place, where he pretended to be going; the captain made ſome anſwer, but ſaid they ſhould not go before they had drank with him; then giving a piece of money to one of the ſoldiers, to buy a bottle of ſack at a tavern a good way off, and pretending likewiſe ſome errand for another ſoldier, ſent him alſo out of the way. There being now none left to guard the priſoners but the gaoler, and the third ſoldier; captain Irvin leapt over the hatch-door, and as the gaoler leapt after, my father knocked him down with his cudgel. While this was doing, Mr. Stuart tript up the ſoldier's heels, and immediately leapt over the hatch. They both mounted, Stuart on the horſe behind my father, and Irvin on the ſpare one, and in a few minutes came up with their companions at the gate, before the main-guard could arrive, although it were kept within twenty yards of the gaol-door.

I ſhould have obſerved, that as ſoon as captain Irvin and his friend got over the hatch, my father and his comrades put a couple of broad ſwords into their hands, which they had concealed under their cloaks, and at the ſame time drawing their own, were all ſix determined to force their way againſt any who offered to obſtruct them in their paſſage;

but the diſpatch was ſo ſudden, that they got clear out of the gate, before the leaſt oppoſition could be made. They were no ſooner gone, than the town was alarmed, Coote, the governor, got out of his bed, and ran into the ſtreets in his ſhirt, to know what the hubbub meant, and was in a great rage at the accident. The adventurers met the governor's groom, coming back with his maſter's horſes from watering; they ſeized the horſes, and got ſafe to Sir Robert Stuart's, about four miles off, without loſing one drop of blood in this hazardous enterprize.

This gallant perſon (if I may ſo preſume to call my father) had above twenty children by his wife Anne Maxwell, of the family of the earl of Nithſdale, of whom I was the eldeſt; they all died young, except myſelf, three other boys, and two girls; who lived to be men and women. My ſecond brother I took care to have educated at Glaſgow, but he was drowned at two-and-twenty years old, in a ſtorm, on his return to Ireland. The other two died captains abroad, in the ſervice of king William.

I was born on the eighth day of May, 1648, at Caſtle-Fin in the county of Donegal. I made ſome ſmall progreſs in learning at the ſchool of Dungannon; but when I was eighteen years old, I very inconſiderately married Mrs. Elizabeth Delgarno, my ſchool-maſter's daughter, by whom I have had thirteen children, who all died young, except two daughters, married to two brothers James and Charles Young, of the county of Tyrone.

Having

Having been ſo very young when I married, I ould think of no other courſe to advance my for- une, than by getting into the army. Captain rvin, often mentioned already, had a brother who was a phyſician at Edinburgh, to whom he wrote n my favour, deſiring he would recommend me to he marquis of Atholl and others, then at the head of affairs in Scotland; this was in the year 1674. There were then but one troop of horſe-guards (whereof the marquis was colonel) and one regi- nent of foot guards, commanded by the earl of Linlithgow, in that kingdom; and they conſiſted chiefly of gentlemen.

Dr. Irvin, phyſician to the horſe-guards, ac- cordingly preſented me to the marquis of Atholl, requeſting that I might be received into his troop. His lordſhip, pretending there was no vacancy, was, by the doctor threatened, in a free jeſting manner, with a doſe of poiſon, inſtead of phyſick, the firſt time he ſhould want his ſkill; "Weell, weell then," quoth the marquis, what is your friend's name? "Deel tak' me," anſwered the doctor, gin I ken; whereupon I was called in, to write my name in the roll. I was then ordered to repair to the troop at Stirling, with directions to lieutenant- colonel Cockburn, the commanding officer, to put me into which of the four ſquadrons, whereof the troops conſiſted, he thought fit. He thereupon placed me in his own, and appointed me my quarters.

Soon after this, the conventicles growing nu- merous in the weſt, ſeveral parties were drawn out to ſuppreſs them; among whom I never failed to

make one, in hopes thereby to be taken notice of by my commanders; for I had nothing to recommend me, except my activity, diligence, and courage, being a ſtranger, and born out of that kingdom.

My firſt action, after having been taken into the guards, was, with a dozen gentlemen more, to go in queſt of Mas David Williamſon, a noted covenanter; ſince, made more famous in the book, called the Scotch Preſbyterian Eloquence. I had been aſſured that this Williamſon did much frequent the houſe of my lady Cherrytree, within ten miles of Edinburgh; but when I arrived firſt with my party about the houſe, the lady, well knowing our errand, put Williamſon to bed to her daughter, diſguiſed in a woman's night-dreſs. When the troopers went to ſearch in the young lady's room, her mother pretended that ſhe was not well; and Williamſon ſo managed the matter, that when the daughter raiſed herſelf a little in the bed, to let the troopers ſee her, they did not diſcover him, and ſo went off diſappointed. But the young lady proved with child; and Williamſon, to take off the ſcandal, married her in ſome time after. This Williamſon married five or ſix wives ſucceſſively, and was alive in the reign of queen Anne; at which time, I ſaw him, preaching in one of the kirks at Edinburgh. It is ſaid that king Charles the Second, hearing of Williamſon's behaviour in lady Cherrytree's houſe, wiſhed to ſee the man that diſcovered ſo much vigour while his troopers were in ſearch of him: and in a merry way, declared, that when

he

he was in the royal-oak, he could not have kiſſed the bonnieſt laſs in Chriſtendom.

Some time after this, Thomas Dalziel, general of the forces in Scotland, an excellent ſoldier, who had been taken priſoner at the famous battle of Worceſter, and ſent priſoner to the Tower, eſcaping from thence into Muſcovy, was made general to the Czar; and returning home, after the Reſtoration, was preferred, by the king, to be general of the forces in Scotland; in which poſt he continued till his death, which happened a little before the Revolution. This general commanded fifty of the foot-guards, with an enſign, to accompany me, and to follow my directions, in the purſuit of a notorious rebel, one Adam Stobow, a farmer in Fife, near Culroſs. This fellow had gone through the Weſt, endeavouring to ſtir up ſedition in the people, by his great ſkill in canting and praying. There had been ſeveral parties ſent out after him, before I and my men undertook the buſineſs; but they could never diſcover him. We reached Culroſs at night, where I directed the enſign and all the men to ſecure three or four rebels, who were in the place, while I, with two or three of the ſoldiers to aſſiſt me, went to Stobow's houſe, about a mile and a half from Culroſs, by break of day, for fear ſome of his friends might give him notice. Before I got to the houſe, I obſerved a kiln in the way, which I ordered to be ſearched, becauſe I found there a heap of ſtraw in the paſſage, up to the kiln-pot. There I found Stobow lurking, and carried him to Culroſs, although his daughter offered me a

hundred

hundred dollars to let him go. We returned immediately to the general at Edinburgh, with Stobow and the priſoners taken by the enſign at Culroſs. They continued a while in confinement, but Stobow, at his trial, found friends enough to ſave his life, and was only baniſhed; yet he returned home a year after, and proved as troubleſome and ſeditious as ever, till, at the fight at Bothwellbridge, it was thought he was killed, for he was never heard of afterwards.

During the time I was in the guards, about two years after the affair of Mas David Williamſon, at the lady Cherrytree's, I was quartered with a party at Bathgate, which is a ſmall village, twelve miles from Edinburgh. One Sunday morning, by break of day, I and my comrade, a gallant highland gentleman, of the name of Grant, went out diſguiſed in grey coats and bonnets, in ſearch after ſome conventicle. We travelled on foot, eight or ten miles into the wild mountains, where we ſpied three fellows on the top of a hill, whom we conjectured to ſtand there as ſpies, to give intelligence to a conventicle, when any of the king's troopers ſhould happen to come that way. There they ſtood, with long poles in their hands, till I and my friend came pretty near, and then they turned to go down the hill: when we obſerved this, we took a little compaſs, and came up with them on the other ſide; whereupon they ſtood ſtill, leaning on their poles. Then I bounced forward upon one of them, and ſuddenly ſnatching the pole out of his hand, aſked him why he carried ſuch a pole on

the Lord's-day, and at the ſame time knocked him down with it. My comrade immediately ſeized on the ſecond, and laid him flat by a gripe of his hair; but the third took to his heels, and ran down the hill. However, having left my friend to guard the two former, I overtook the laſt, and felled him likewiſe; but the place being ſteep, the violence with which I ran carried me a good way down the hill, before I could recover myſelf after the ſtroke I had given; and by the time I could get up again to the place where he lay, the rogue had got on his feet, and was fumbling for a ſide piſtol, that hung at his belt, under his upper coat; which as ſoon as I obſerved, I fetched him to the ground a ſecond time with the pole, and ſeized on his piſtol; then leading him up to the other two, I deſired my friend to examine their pockets, and ſee whether they carried any powder or ball; but we found none.

We then led our priſoners down the hill, at the foot of which there was a bog, and on the other ſide a man ſitting on a rock; when we advanced near him, leaving our priſoners in the keeping of my friend, I ran up towards the man, who fled down on the other ſide. As ſoon as I had reached the top of the rock, there appeared a great number of people aſſembled in a glen, to hear the preaching of Mas John King, as I underſtood afterwards; whoſe voice was ſo loud, that it reached the ears of thoſe who were at the greateſt diſtance, which could not, I think, be leſs than a quarter of a mile; they all ſtanding before him, and the wind favouring

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the ſtrength of his lungs. When my friend had brought the three priſoners to the top of the rock, where I waited for him, they all broke looſe, and ran down to the conventicle: but my friend advancing within about forty yards of that rabble, commanded them in his majeſty's name to depart to their own homes. Whereupon about forty of their number, with poles in their hands, drew out from the reſt, and advanced againſt us two, who had the courage, or rather the temerity, to face ſo great a company, which could not be fewer than a thouſand. As this party of theirs was preparing with their long poles to attack me and my friend, it happened very luckily, that a fine gelding, ſaddled and bridled, with a pillion likewiſe upon him, came up near us, in ſearch for better graſs; I caught the horſe, and immediately mounted him, which the reſt of the conventiclers obſerving, they broke up and followed as faſt as they could, ſome on horſeback, and the reſt on foot, to prevent me from going off with the horſe; but I put him to the gallop, and ſuffering him to chooſe his own way through the mountain, which was full of bogs and hags, got out of reach. My friend kept up with me as long as he could, but having run a mile through ſuch difficult places, he was quite ſpent, and the conventiclers hard at his heels; whereupon he called to me for aſſiſtance, and I alighting put him upon the horſe, bidding him to make the beſt of his way to the laird of Poddiſhaw's about two miles off. By this time we ſaw twelve covenanters on horſeback, who advanced towards us by a ſhorter cut, and

blocked

blocked up a gap, through which we were of neceſſity to paſs. I undertook to clear the gap for my friend, and running towards the rogues, with my broad ſword and piſtol, ſoon forced them to open to the right and left: my comrade got through, and was purſued a good way; but he ſo laid about him, with his broad-ſword, that the purſuers, being unarmed, durſt not ſeize him. In the mean time, I, who was left on foot, kept the covenanters, who followed me, at a proper diſtance; but they pelted me with clods, which I ſometimes returned, 'till at laſt, after chaſing me above a mile, they ſaw a party of troopers in red, paſſing by, at ſome diſtance; and then they gave over their purſuit.

The troopers obſerving my friend galloping and purſued, imagined he was ſome fanatic preacher, till they came to an old woman on a hill, whom my friend had deſired to deny his being gone that way; upon which they went off to their quarters, and he got ſafe to Poddiſhaw's, whither I ſoon after arrived. The laird of Poddiſhaw had been that day at church; from whence, returning with the laird of Pocammock, who lived about a mile off, they both wondered how the horſe got thither; for Pocammock was the owner of the horſe, and his lady had rode on it that day to the conventicle, without her huſband's knowledge, having been ſeduced thither by ſome fanatic neighbours, for ſhe had never been at their meetings before. My friend and I acquainted the two lairds with the whole adventure of that day: and after dinner, Pocammock

requeſted to let him have the horſe home, thereby to ſtifle any reflection his lady might bring upon him, or herſelf, by going to a conventicle; he likewiſe invited us to dine next day at his houſe, where the horſe ſhould again be delivered to me, as juſtly forfeited by the folly of his wife. We went accordingly with the laird of Poddiſhaw, and dined at Pocammock's; where the horſe was ordered to be led out into the court, in the ſame accoutrements as I found him the day before: but obſerving the lady in tears, I told her, that if ſhe would give me her promiſe never to go to a conventicle again, I would beſtow her the horſe, and conceal what had paſſed; ſhe readily complied, and ſo the matter was made up. However, the laird her huſband aſſured me, that no horſe in Scotland ſhould be better paid for; and being a leading man in the country, and his lady diſcovering the names of thoſe who had been at the conventicle, he ſent for them, and perſuaded them, as they valued their quiet, to make up a purſe for me and my friend, which they accordingly did; and we both lived plentifully a twelvemonth after, on the price of that horſe.

This adventure, making much noiſe at Edinburgh, was the occaſion of my being ſent for up thither by the marquis of Atholl my colonel, who in a very friendly manner expoſtulated with me upon my raſhneſs; as indeed he had too much reaſon to do; neither was I able to ſay any thing in my own juſtification. However, ſince what I had done diſcovered my loyalty for my prince, my zeal

zeal for the church, and my deteſtation of all rebellious principles; his lordſhip ever after gave me many marks of his friendſhip.

Accordingly, theſe ſervices gave me ſo much credit with the general, that he promiſed to apply to the government, in my favour, for ſome preferment in the army, upon the firſt opportunity, which happened about a year afterwards. For the ſeditious humours in the Weſt ſtill increaſing, it was thought proper, that three independent troops of horſe, and as many dragoons, ſhould be raiſed to ſuppreſs the rebels. Whereupon Mr. Francis Stuart, grandſon to the earl of Bothwell, a private gentleman in the horſe-guards like myſelf, and my intimate acquaintance, was ſent for, in haſte, by the general; becauſe the council of Scotland was then writing to the king, that his majeſty would pleaſe to grant commiſſions to thoſe perſons whoſe names were to be ſent up to London, that very night. Mr. Stuart gave me notice of this: whereupon, although I was not ſent for, I reſolved to go up with him to Edinburgh, and ſolicit for myſelf. When I arrived there, and attended the general, his firſt queſtion was in a humourous manner, "Wha the deel ſent for you up?" I anſwered, that I hoped his excellency would now make good his promiſe, of preferring me, ſince ſo fair an opportunity offered at preſent. On this occaſion the general ſtood my firm friend; and although the ſons and brothers of lords and baronets, and other perſons of quality ſolicited to be made lieutenants and cornets in theſe new raiſed troops, yet the general,

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in regard to my ſervices, prevailed with the council, that I might be appointed lieutenant to Mr. Stuart, who was then made captain of dragoons.

Soon after this, the archbiſhop of St. Andrew's was murdered by the laird of Hackſton and Balfour, aſſiſted by four poor weavers. Hackſton, before this horrid action, was reputed an honeſt and gallant man; but his friendſhip for his brother-in-law Balfour drew him in to commit this inhuman murder. Balfour, who had been the archbiſhop's chamberlain (for ſo in Scotland we call a great man's ſteward) whether by negligence or diſhoneſty, was ſhort in his payments to his lord; and the fear of being called to an account was a principal motive to aſſaſſinate his maſter: however, he pretended likewiſe a great zeal for the kirk, whereof he looked upon the archbiſhop as the greateſt oppreſſor. It is certain, that the lower people mortally hated the archbiſhop, on pretence that his grace had deſerted their communion: and the weavers who were accomplices of Balfour, believed they did God ſervice in deſtroying an enemy of the kirk; and accordingly all the murderers were eſteemed and ſtyled ſaints, by that rebellious faction.

After the murder of the archbiſhop, ſeveral parties in the Weſt took up arms, under the leading of Robert Hamilton, ſecond ſon to Sir William Hamilton, of Preſton, the unworthy ſon of a moſt worthy father: whereupon the council met, and ſent for Graham, then laird of Clavers, afterwards created viſcount Dundee by king James the Seventh. This noble

noble perſon was, at that time, captain of one of thoſe independent troops of horſe, which, as I have already mentioned, were raiſed before the murder of the archbiſhop. The council therefore ordered him to march with a detachment of one hundred and twenty dragoons, and a lieutenant, with his own troop, in purſuit of the rebels. Clavers was obliged not to open his commiſſion, until he came in ſight of them. In his march he took Mas John King, one of their principal preachers. Clavers carried King along, until he came in ſight of the enemy, at Drumclog, eight miles from Hamilton. There the preacher was guarded by a dragoon-centry, at a little cabbin, on the top of the hill, while Clavers opening his commiſſion, found himſelf commanded to fight the rebels, let their number be ever ſo great, with thoſe hundred and twenty dragoons.

But before I proceed to tell the iſſue of this affair, I muſt digreſs a little upon the ſubject of Mas John King, above-mentioned. When I was in the guards, ſome time after I had miſſed Williamſon at lady Cherrytree's houſe; the government hearing that this John King was beginning to hold his conventicles not far from Stirling, where the troop of horſe then lay, ordered the commanding officer there to ſend a party out to take him, and bring him up to the council. I was pitched upon, with a ſmall detachment, to perform this ſervice. I went to my lord Cadroſſe's houſe, to whoſe lady King was chaplain; there I took him and delivered him to the council. This preacher had gotten the

lady's woman with child, about four or five months before, and it is ſuppoſed, had promiſed her marriage, provided the lady would ſtand his friend in his preſent diſtreſs; whereupon ſhe was ſo far his friend, as to get him bailed, on her engaging, he ſhould hold no more conventicles: however, he went to the hills, and there preached the people to arms; and in ſeveral towns, as Kirkcudbright, Lanerk, and Sanquehar in particular, in company with Cameron, ſet up declarations on the market-croſſes againſt the king, whom he excommunicated, with all his adherents. Thus he continued till Clavers took him at Drumclog, as is above-mentioned, where he got off again, until I took him a third time, after the battle of Bothwell-bridge, which ſhall be related in its proper place.

The rebels at Drumclog were eight or nine thouſand ſtrong: their leader, as I have ſaid before, was Robert Hamilton, ſecond brother to the loyal houſe of Preſton, but a profligate, who had ſpent all his patrimony. There were likewiſe among them the lairds of Knockgray and Fruah, with many other gentlemen of fortune, whoſe names I have forgot. Clavers's men, with the addition of ſome few that came in to him, did not exceed one hundred and eighty; yet, purſuant to his orders, he was forced to fight the enemy; but being ſo vaſtly out-numbered, was ſoon defeated, with the loſs of cornet Robert Graham, and about eight or ten private troopers. The rebels finding the cornet's body, and ſuppoſing it to be that of Clavers, becauſe the name of Graham was wrought in the ſhirt-

ſhirt-neck, treated it with the utmoſt inhumanity, cutting off the noſe, picking out the eyes, and ſtabbing it through in a hundred places.

Clavers, in his flight towards Hamilton and Glaſgow, rode a horſe that trailed his guts for two miles, from the place where the engagement happened; but then overtaking his groom with ſome led-horſes, he mounted one of them, and with the remains of his ſmall army eſcaped to Glaſgow. The rebels, purſuing as far as Hamilton, advanced that evening within a mile of Glaſgow, where they encamped all night. As Clavers was marching after his men up the hill, where he had left Mas John King under the guard of a dragoon (who ran off with the firſt that fled) King, in a ſneering way, deſired him to ſtay, and take his priſoner with him.

The rebels being thus encamped within a mile of Glaſgow, Clavers commanded his men in the town to ſtand to their arms all night; and having barricadoed the four ſtreets, to prevent the rebels horſe from breaking in, ordered me, at ſun-riſe, to march with ſix dragoons, and diſcover which way the rebels intended to come into the town. I muſt here obſerve, that I, with captain Stuart's troop of dragoons, and a battalion of the foot-guards, remained at Glaſgow, while Clavers marched to Drumclog, where he was defeated. But to return; I followed the directions which were given me, and having diſcovered the enemy from a little eminence, I was ordered by Clavers, who came to me there, to watch at a ſmall houſe, where the way divided,

and ſee which of the roads they would take, or whether they ſeparated, and each party took a different way. I ſtayed until I ſaw them take two different roads; ſome by that from whence I came from the town, which was over the Gallowgate-bridge, and the reſt by the high-church and college, which was more than twice as far as the firſt party had to come, and conſequently could not both meet at the ſame time within the town. This was a great advantage to Clavers, and his little army. That party of the rebels which took Gallowgate-bridge road, followed me cloſe to the heels, as I returned to inform Clavers what courſe they took.

The broad ſtreet was immediately full of them, but advancing towards the barricade, before their fellows, who followed the other road, could arrive to their aſſiſtance, were valiantly received by Clavers and his men, who firing on them at once, and jumping over the carts and cars that compoſed the barricade, chaſed them out of the town; but were quickly forced to return, and receive the other party; which, by that time, was marching down by the high-church and college; but when they came within piſtol-ſhot, were likewiſe fired upon, and driven out of the town. In this action many of the rebels fell, but the king's party loſt not ſo much as one man.

The town's-men being too well affected to the rebels, concealed many of them in their houſes; the reſt who eſcaped, met and drew up in a field behind the high-church, where they ſtayed until

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five in the afternoon, it being in the month of May, and from thence marched in a body to the ſame place where they were in the morning, about a mile off the town. Clavers and his men expecting they would make a ſecond attack, and diſcovering by his ſpies whither they were gone, marched after them; but, upon ſight of our forces, the rebels retired with a ſtrong rear-guard of horſe to Hamilton; whereupon Clavers returned, and quartered that night in Glaſgow.

Next morning, the government ſent orders to Clavers to leave Glaſgow, and march to Stirling, eighteen miles farther; and three days after, he was commanded to bring up his party to Edinburgh. As ſoon as he quitted Glaſgow, the rebels returned, and having ſtayed in that town eight or ten days, encamped on Hamilton-moor, within a mile of Bothwell-bridge, where it was ſaid that their numbers were increaſed to fourteen thouſand; although biſhop Burnet, in his Hiſtory of his Own Times, moſt falſly and partially affirms, that they were not more than four thouſand, or thereabouts.

The council, finding the rebels daily increaſing in their numbers, gave information thereof to the king; whereupon his majeſty ſent down the duke of Monmouth, with a commiſſion, to be commander in chief, and to take with him four troops of Engliſh dragoons, which were quartered on the borders: but theſe, with the forces in Scotland, amounted not to above three thouſand. Upon the duke's being made commander in chief, general Dalziel

refuſed to ſerve under him, and remained at his lodgings in Edinburgh, till his grace was ſuperſeded, which happened about a fortnight after.

The army was about four miles forward, on the road towads Hamilton, when the duke of Monmouth came up with his Engliſh dragoons, on Saturday the 21ſt of June: from thence the whole forces marched to the Kirk of Shots, within four miles of the rebels, where they lay that night. The next morning he marched the army up an eminence, oppoſite to the main body of the enemy, who were encamped on the moor.

The general officers, the earl of Linlithgow, colonel of the foot-guards, the earl of Mar, colonel of a regiment of foot, Clavers, the earl of Hume, and the earl of Airley, all captains of horſe, the marquis of Montroſe, colonel of the horſe-guards (Atholl having been diſcarded) Dalhouſie, with many other noblemen, and gentlemen volunteers, attending the duke together, deſired his grace to let them know which way he deſigned to take to come at the enemy; the duke anſwered, it muſt be by Bothwell-bridge. Now the bridge lay a ſhort mile to the right of the king's army, was narrow, and guarded with three thouſand of the rebels, and ſtrongly barricadoed with great ſtones; but, although the officers were deſirous to have paſſed the river, by eaſy fords, directly between them and the rebels, and to march to their main body on the moor, before thoſe three thouſand, who guarded the bridge, could come to aſſiſt them; yet the duke

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was obſtinate, and would paſs no other way than that of the bridge.

Purſuant to this prepoſterous and abſurd reſolution, he commanded captain Stuart (whoſe lieutenant I was) with his troop of dragoons, and eighty muſqueteers, together with four ſmall field-pieces, under cover of the dragoons, to beat off the party at the bridge: the duke himſelf, with David Leſly and Melvill, accompanied us, and ordered the field-pieces to be left at the village of Bothwell, within a muſket-ſhot of the bridge: when the duke and his men came near the bridge, the rebels beat a parley, and ſent over a laird accompanied with a kirk preacher. The duke aſking what they came for? was anſwered, "That they would have "the kirk eſtabliſhed in the ſame manner as it "ſtood at the king's reſtoration, and that every "ſubject ſhould be obliged to take the ſolemn "league and covenant." The duke told them, their demand could not be granted, but ſent them back to tell their party, that if they would lay down their arms, and ſubmit to the king's mercy, he would intercede for their pardon.

While this parley laſted, the field-pieces were brought down, and planted over againſt the bridge, without being perceived by the rebels. The meſſengers returned in a ſhort time, with this anſwer: "That they would not lay down their arms, until "their conditions were granted them:" whereupon the dragoons and muſqueteers fired all at once upon thoſe who guarded the bridge, and the field-pieces played ſo warmly, that ſome hundreds of

the rebels were ſlain; the reſt flying to the main body, on the moor.

The duke, as ſoon as he had commanded to fire, retired into a hollow, from the enemies ſhot, ſome ſay by the perſuaſion of Leſly and Melvill, and continued there till the action was over. Then captain Stuart ordered the muſqueteers to make way for the horſe to paſs the bridge, by caſting the ſtones into the river, which had been placed there to obſtruct the paſſage over it; but the army could not paſs in leſs than five hours; and then marched up in order of battle towards the enemy, who waited for them on the moor, confiding in the great ſuperiority of their number. Clavers commanded the horſe on the right, and captain Stuart the dragoons on the left. The field-pieces were carried in the centre of the foot-guards, while the reſt of the officers commanded at the head of their men; and the duke, after the enemy was beaten from the bridge, rode at the head of the army.

Upon the firſt fire, the rebels horſe turned about, and fled upon the right and left; and although the duke ordered his men not to ſtir out of their ranks to purſue them, yet the army, not regarding his commands, followed the flying rebels, killing between ſeven and eight hundred, and taking fifteen hundred priſoners. Sir John Bell, provoſt of Glaſgow, as ſoon as he ſaw the rebels fly, rode into the town; from whence, in a few hours, he ſent all the bread he could find, together with a hogſhead of drink to each troop and company in the army, out of the cellars of ſuch town's-men as were

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found to be abettors or protectors of the rebels.

The cruelty and preſumption of that wicked and perverſe generation will appear evident from a ſingle inſtance. Theſe rebels had ſet up a very large gallows in the middle of their camp, and prepared a cart-full of new ropes at the foot of it, in order to hang up the king's ſoldiers, whom they already looked upon as vanquiſhed and at mercy; and it happened, that the purſuers in the royal army, returning back with their priſoners, choſe the place where the gallows ſtood, to guard them at, without offering to hang one of them, which they juſtly deſerved, and had ſo much reaſon to expect. The purſuers were no ſooner returned, and the whole action over, than general Dalziel arrived at the camp from Edinburgh, with a commiſſion renewed to be commander in chief, which he received that very morning by an expreſs. This commander having learned how the duke had conducted the war, told him publickly, and with great plainneſs, that he had betrayed the king; that he heartily wiſhed his commiſſion had come a day ſooner, for then, ſaid he, "theſe rogues ſhould never "have troubled his majeſty, or the kingdom any "more."

Thus the duke was at the ſame time ſuperſeded, and publickly rebuked, before all the army; yet his grace forgot his dignity ſo far, as to ſneak among them at the town of Bothwell (where the forces encamped) until the Saturday following; then all the troops marched back to Glaſgow, from whence, in two

or

or three days, they were ſent to their ſeveral quarters; after which the duke of Monmouth paſſed by Stirling to Fife to viſit the duke of Rothes.

The ſame evening after the rout on the moor, the priſoners were ſent with a ſtrong guard towards Edinburgh. On Saturday morning, when the army was to march to Glaſgow, I deſired the general's leave to go with twelve dragoons, in ſearch of ſome of the rebels, who might probably paſs the Clyde, about Dunbarton, to ſhelter themſelves in the Highlands. With theſe dragoons, clad in grey coats and bonnets, I made haſte down the ſide of the river; and about midnight, after traveling twenty-four miles, I came to a church, and while the ſoldiers ſtayed to refreſh their horſes in the church-yard, I ſpied a country-fellow going by, and aſked him in his own dialect, "Whither "gang ye this time of night?" He anſwered, "Wha are ye that ſpeers?" I replied, "We are "your ane fo'ke:" Upon this the fellow came up, and told me, there were eighteen friends, with horſes, at an old caſtle waiting for a boat to paſs over into the iſle of Arran. I mounted the man behind one of the dragoons, and went towards the place: but the rebels, not finding a boat, were gone off, and the guide diſmiſſed. There was a great dew on the graſs, which directed me and my party to follow the track of their horſes, for three or four miles, till the dew was gone off; I then enquired of a cow-herd on a hill, whether he ſaw any of our "poor fo'ke" traveling that way; he anſwered, that they had ſeparated on that hill, and gone three

three ſeveral ways, ſix in a party; adding, that in one party there was "a braw, muckle kerl, with "a white hat on him, and a great bob of ribbons "on the cock o't." Whereupon I ſent four of my dragoons after one party, four more after another; and myſelf, with the remaining four, went in purſuit of him with the white hat. As I went forward, I met another cow-herd, who told me that the fellow with the hat, and one more (for as the rogues advanced farther into the Weſt, they ſtill divided into ſmaller parties) were juſt gone down the hill, to his maſter's houſe. The good-man of the houſe returning from putting the horſes to graſs in the garden, was going to ſhut the door; whereupon myſelf and two of the dragoons commanded him, with our piſtols at his breaſt, to lead us to the room where the man lay who wore a white hat. We entered the room, and before he awaked, I took away his arms, and commanded him to dreſs immediately: then finding his companion aſleep in the barn, I forced him likewiſe to ariſe, and mounting them both on their own horſes, came at nine o'clock in the morning, with my two priſoners, to the other dragoons, at the place where we appointed to meet. From thence we rode ſtraight to Glaſgow, and arrived there about eight in the evening, after a journey of fifty miles, ſince we left the army at Bothwell the day before.

This was upon a Sunday, and although we met with many hundreds of people on the road, yet we travelled on to Glaſgow without any oppoſition. I muſt here inform the reader, that although I had

once

once before taken this very man, who wore the white hat, yet I did not know him to be Mas John King already mentioned, until I was told ſo by the man of the houſe where I found him. I likewiſe forgot to mention, that King, who knew me well enough, as ſoon as he was taken in the houſe, entreated me to ſhew him ſome favour, becauſe he had married a woman of my name; I anſwered, "That is true, but firſt you got her with bairn, and "ſhall therefore now pay for diſgracing one of my "name."

When we arrived near Glaſgow, I ſent a dragoon to inform the general, that Mas John King was coming to kiſs his hand; whereupon his excellency, accompanied with all the noblemen and officers, advanced as far as the bridge, to welcome me and my priſoner; where it is very obſervable, that Graham, laird of Clavers, who came among the reſt, made not the leaſt reproach to Mas John, in return of his inſolent behaviour when that commander fled from Drumclog. Mas John was ſent to Edinburgh next morning, under a guard, and hanged ſoon after: from hence I went to my quarters in Lanerk ſixteen miles from Glaſgow; and about a month after (I hope the reader will excuſe my weakneſs) I happened to dream that I found one Wilſon, a captain among the rebels, at Bothwell-bridge, in a bank of wood upon the river Clyde. This accident made ſo ſtrong an impreſſion on my mind, that as ſoon as I awoke, I took ſix and thirty dragoons, and got to the place by break of day; then I cauſed ſome of them to alight, and

go into the wood, and ſet him up as hounds do a hare, while the reſt were ordered to ſtand centry, to prevent his eſcape. It ſeems I dreamt fortunately, for Wilſon was actually in the wood, with five more of his company, as we afterwards learned; who all ſeeing me and my party advancing, hid themſelves in a little iſland on the river, among the broom that grew upon it. Wilſon had not the good fortune to eſcape; for, as he was trying to get out of one copſe into another, I met him, and gueſſing by his good cloaths, and by the deſcription I had received of him before, that he was the man I looked for, I ſeized and brought him to my quarters; and from thence immediately conveyed him to Edinburgh, where he was hanged; but might have preſerved his life, if he would have condeſcended only to ſay, "God ſave the king." This he utterly refuſed to do, and thereby loſt not only his life, but likewiſe an eſtate worth twenty-nine thouſand marks Scots.

For this ſervice, the duke of Queenſberry, then high-commiſſioner of Scotland, recommended me to the king, who rewarded me with the gift of Wilſon's eſtate; but, although the grant paſſed the ſeals, and the ſheriff put me in poſſeſſion, yet I could neither ſell it nor let it; nobody daring, for fear of the rebels, who had eſcaped at Bothwell-bridge, either to purchaſe or farm it; by which means I never got a penny by the grant; and at the Revolution the land was taken from me and reſtored to Wilſon's heirs.

The

The winter following, general Dalziel, v battalion of the earl of Linlithgow's guard earl of Airlie's troop of horſe, and captain S troop of dragoons, quartered at Kilmarnock, Weſt, fifty miles from Edinburgh. Here t neral, one day, happening to look on, while exerciſing the troop of dragoons, aſked me, I had done, whether I knew any one of my who was ſkilful in praying well in the ſtyl tone of the covenanters? I immediately th upon one James Gibb, who had been born i land, and whom I made a dragoon. This r brought to the general, aſſuring his excel that if I had raked hell, I could not find his for his ſkill in mimicking the covenanters. W upon the general gave him five pounds to bu a great coat and a bonnet, and commanded l find out the rebels, but to be ſure to take c himſelf among them. The dragoon went miles off that very night, and got admittanc the houſe of a notorious rebel, pretending he from Ireland out of zeal for the cauſe, to a the fight of Bothwell-bridge, and could not f opportunity ſince, of returning to Ireland ſafety; he ſaid he durſt not be ſeen in the time, and therefore, after bewitching the with his gifts of praying, he was conveyed duſk of the evening, with a guide, to the ho the next adjoining rebel; and thus, in the manner, from one to another, till in a m time he got through the principal of them Weſt; telling the general, at his return, that w

ver he came, he made the old wives, in their devout fits, tear off their biggonets and mutches; he likewiſe gave the general a liſt of their names and places of their abodes, and into the bargain, brought back a good purſe of money in his pocket. The general deſired to know how he had prayed among them; he anſwered, that it was his cuſtom, in his prayers, to ſend the king, the miniſters of ſtate, the officers of the army, with all their ſoldiers, and the epiſcopal clergy, all broad-ſide to hell; but particularly the general himſelf. What, ſaid the general, did you ſend me to hell, Sir? Yea, replied the dragoon, you at the head of them, as their leader.

And here I do ſolemnly aver, upon my veracity and knowledge, that biſhop Burnet, in the Hiſtory of his Own Times, has, in a moſt falſe and ſcandalous manner, miſrepreſented the action at Bothwell-bridge, and the behaviour of the epiſcopal clergy in Scotland: for, as to the former, I was preſent in that engagement, which was performed in the manner I have related; and as to the latter, having travelled through moſt parts of that kingdom, particularly the north and weſt, I was well acquainted with them, and will take it to my death, that the reverſe of this character, which Burnet gives of both, is the truth. And becauſe that author is ſo unjuſt to the epiſcopal clergy, and ſo partial to the covenanters and their teachers, I do affirm, that I have known ſeveral among the latter ſort guilty of thoſe very vices wherewith this biſhop brands the epiſcopal clergy. Among many others,

I will produce one inſtance, rather to divert the reader than from any obloquy. One of thoſe eight fanatic teachers who were permitted, at the Reſtoration, to keep their livings, came to Sir John Carmichael's houſe, within a mile of Lanerk, where I was then upon a viſit to Sir John. We drank hard till it was late, and all the company retired, except Sir John and myſelf. The teacher would needs give us prayers, but fell aſleep before he had half done; whereupon Sir John and I, ſetting a bottle and glaſs at his noſe, left him upon his knees. The poor man ſneaked off early the next morning, being, in all appearance, aſhamed of his hypocriſy.

To return from this digreſſion. The general ſent out ſeveral parties, and me with a party among the reſt; where, during the winter, and the following ſpring, I ſecured many of thoſe whoſe names and abodes the canting dragoon had given a liſt of.

In July following, the general, by order of the council, commanded me to go, with a detachment of thirty horſe and fifty dragoons, in purſuit of about one hundred and fifty rebels, who had eſcaped at Bothwell-bridge, and ever ſince kept together in a body, up and down in Galloway. I followed them for five or ſix days, from one place to another; after which, on the 22d of July, they ſtayed for me at Airs-moſs, ſituate in the ſhire of Air, near the town of Cumlock. The moſs is four miles long from eaſt to weſt, and two broad. The rebels drew up at the eaſt end, and conſiſted of thirty

thirty horſe and one hundred and twenty foot. I faced them upon a riſing ground with my thirty horſe and fifty dragoons. The reaſon why the rebels choſe this place to fight on, rather than a plain field, was for fear their horſe might deſert the foot, as they did on Hamilton-moor, near Bothwell-bridge; and likewiſe, that in caſe they loſt the day, they might ſave themſelves by retreating into the moſs.

I placed myſelf on the left, as judging, that the beſt officer the rebels had would command on the right. The action began about five in the afternoon, but laſted not long; for I ordered my men firſt to receive the enemy's fire, then to ride down the hill upon them, and uſe their broad-ſwords: they did ſo, and before the enemy had time to draw theirs, cut many of them down in an inſtant; whereupon they wheeled about, and captain Fowler, who commanded the rebels on the right, being then in the rear, advancing up to me, I gave him ſuch a blow over the head with my broad-ſword, as would have cleaved his ſkull, had it not been defended by a ſteel-cap. Fowler turning about, aimed a blow at me, but I warded it off, and with a back ſtroke cut the upper part of his head clean off, from the noſe upwards.

By this time, the rebels leaving their horſes, fled to the moſs; but the royaliſts purſuing them, killed about ſixty, and took fourteen priſoners. Here Cameron, the famous covenanter, loſt his life; and Haxton was taken priſoner, infamous for imbruing his hands in the blood of the archbiſhop of

St. Andrews, as I have already mentioned; for which parricide, both his hands were afterwards cut off, and he was hanged at Edinburgh.

But this victory coſt me very dear; for being then in the rear, I rode into the moſs after the rebels, where I overtook a dozen of them hacking and hewing one of my men, whoſe horſe was bogged; his name was Elliot, a ſtout ſoldier; and one of Clavers's troop. He had received ſeveral wounds, and was at the point of being killed when I came to his relief. I ſhot one of the rogues dead with my carbine, which obliged the reſt to let the poor man and his horſe creep out of the hole, but at the ſame time drew all their fury upon myſelf; for Elliot made a ſhift to crawl out of the moſs, leading his horſe in his hand, but was wholly diſabled from aſſiſting his deliverer, and was not regarded by his enemies, who probably thought he was mortally wounded, or indeed rather that they had no time to mind him; for I laid about me ſo faſt, that they judged it beſt to keep off, and not to venture within my reach; till it unfortunately happened, that my horſe ſlipped in the ſame hole out of which Elliot and his had juſt got. When they had me at this advantage, they began to ſhew their courage, and manfully dealt their blows with their broad-ſwords, from ſome of which, the carbine that hung down my back defended me a little. As I was paddling in the hole, the horſe not able to get out, one of the rebels ran me through the ſmall of the back with his broad-ſword, and at the ſame inſtant, two more wounded me under the ribs with

fellow, when he miſſed his aim, almoſt fell on his face; for the ſword ran up to the hilt in the moſs; and as he was recovering himſelf, I gave him a dab in the mouth with my broken ſword, which very much hurt him; but he aiming a ſecond thruſt, which I had likewiſe the good fortune to put by, and having as before given him another dab in the mouth, he immediately went off, for fear of the purſuers, whereof many were now returning.

In this diſtreſs I made a ſhift, with much difficulty and pain, to get upon my feet, but my right leg being diſabled by the wound I received from the broad-ſword, I was forced to limp by the help of the carbine, which I made uſe of as a ſtaff. I had loſt my horſe; for one of the rogues, when I had quitted him in the hole, led him away through the moſs. I recovered him about a year after from the man to whom the rebel had ſold him; and the ſaid rebel, when he was at the gallows, confeſſed himſelf to be the ſame man who took away the horſe at Airs-moſs.

There was a Lancaſhire gentleman, one Mr. Parker, who came a volunteer to Airs-moſs, with intent, as he expreſſed himſelf, to ſee the ſport. This gentleman, riding on my right-hand at the time when we received the enemy's fire in the beginning of the action, was ſhot with a blunderbuſs under the left ſhoulder; the wound was ſo large that a man might thruſt his fiſt into it: yet when I deſired him to fall back, and take care of his wound, he anſwered me, that he would firſt have his pennyworth out of the rogues; and accordingly followed

followed us on horſeback into the moſs, as far as the horſe could go without bogging. But, by that time, his wound ſo grievouſly pained him, with ſome other cuts he got in the purſuit, that he was forced to alight and ſit on a dry ſpot of ground which he found in the moſs, from whence he ſaw all that happened to me without being able to come to my aſſiſtance, any more than Elliot; who, having gotten to a riſing ground, ſaw likewiſe all that had paſſed. However Mr. Parker, as I came limping towards him, could not forbear laughing, and ſaid, "What a plague, have you got your bones well "paid too?" Then both of us made a ſhift to get up to Elliot on the riſing ground.

The trumpeter being by this time returned, with ſome others, from the purſuit, was ordered to ſound a call, which brought all the reſt back, with the fourteen priſoners and Haxton among the reſt, who was that day commander in chief among the rebels. Of the king's party but two were killed, Mr. Andrew Kerr, a gentleman of Clavers's own troop, and one M'Kabe, a dragoon in captain Stuart's troop, where I was lieutenant. The wounded were about eight or nine, beſide Parker and Elliot. Elliot died the next day: he, Kerr, and M'Kabe, were honourably buried, by Mr. Brown; a gentleman who lived hard by, to whoſe houſe their bodies were carried after the fight at the moſs. An Engliſh lady, living about eight miles off, took care of Mr. Parker, but he died at her houſe a year after, of his wounds, very much lamented on account of his loyalty and valour.

When the fight was over, night coming on, I ordered all my men, except twelve dragoons, whom I kept to attend myſelf, to march with the priſoners, and thoſe who were wounded, to Douglas, fourteen miles off, and to carry along with them Cameron's head. In the mean time, I and my party of dragoons went, that night, ſixteen long miles to Lanerk, where the general and all the foot quartered; as well to acquaint him with what had been done, as to have my own wounds taken care of. I ſent one of my dragoons before me with my meſſage: whereupon the general himſelf, although it were after midnight, accompanied with the earls of Linlithgow, Mar, Roſs, Hume, and the lord Dalhouſie, came out to meet me at the gate: Dalhouſie forced me to lodge in his own chamber, to which I was accordingly carried by two of my dragoons. After my wounds had been dreſſed in the preſence of this noble company, who ſtood round about me, being very thirſty through the loſs of blood, I drank the king's health, and the company's, in a large glaſs of wine and water; and then was laid in Dalhouſie's own bed.

Next day the general leaving Lanerk, with the forces under his command, ordered a troop of horſe and another of dragoons to attend me, till I ſhould be able to travel up to Edinburgh for the better conveniency of phyſicians and ſurgeons. My wounds did not confine me to my bed; and in a month's time I went to Edinburgh on horſeback by eaſy ſtages, where I continued till Candlemas following, lingering of the wound I had received by the broad-

broad-ſword. My ſurgeon was the ſon of the ſame Dr. Irvin who firſt got me into the guards; but having unfortunately neglected to tie a ſtring to the tent of green cloth, which he uſed for the wound, the tent ſlipped into my body, where it lay under my navel ſeven months and five days, and exceedingly pained me, not ſuffering me to ſleep otherwiſe than by taking ſoporiferous pills. When the tent was firſt miſſing, neither the ſurgeon nor any body elſe ever imagined that it was lodged in my body, but ſuppoſed it to have ſlipped out of the wound while I ſlept, and carried away by ſome rat, or other vermin: the tent lying thus in my body, made it impoſſible that the wound could heal: wherefore, after lingering ſeven months, by the advice of a gentlewoman in the neighbourhood, I got leave to go for Ireland with my ſurgeon, and there try whether my native air would contribute any thing to my cure.

However inſignificant this relation may be to the generality of readers, yet I cannot omit a lucky accident to which I owe my cure. While I continued at Edinburgh, I ordered ſome pipes of lead to be made in a mold, through which the thin corruption, which continually iſſued out of the wound cauſed by the tent remaining in my body, might be conveyed as through a foſſet. Theſe pipes I cut ſhorter by degrees, in proportion as I imagined the wound was healing at the bottom; till at laſt, by miſtaking the true cauſe, the tent continuing ſtill where it did, the pipes became too ſhort for the uſe intended; wherefore, when I was in Ireland, I made a coarſe pipe myſelf, which was long enough:

this pipe, after the wound was waſhed with brandy, always remained in my body till the next dreſſing; but being made without art, and ſomewhat jagged at the end, it happened one morning, when the pipe was drawn out as uſual, in order to have the wound waſhed, the tent followed, to the great ſurprize of my father, who, at that time, was going to dreſs the wound; my ſurgeon being then at Caſtle-Irvin, where I had left him with his brother Dr. Irvin, at Sir Gerard Irvin's houſe; the ſame gentleman who was delivered out of Derry gaol by my father, as I have related in the beginning of theſe memoirs.

The night before the tent was drawn out of my body, having not ſlept a wink, I thought myſelf in the morning ſomewhat feveriſh, and therefore deſired my father to ſend for Dr. Lindſey, to let me blood. In the mean time, ſlumbering a little, I dreamed that the covenanters were coming to cut my throat; under this apprehenſion I awaked, and found my neighbour captain Saunderſon in my chamber, who was come to viſit me. I then called for my father to dreſs my wound; when the tent followed the pipe, as I have already ſaid, to my great joy, for then I knew I ſhould ſoon be well. I therefore ordered my horſe to be got ready, and rode out with captain Saunderſon and my father, to meet Dr. Lindſey, who hearing the joyful news, carried us to a gentleman's houſe, where we drank very heartily: then I returned home and ſlept almoſt four-and-twenty hours. Two days after, Dr. Irvin and his brother, the ſurgeon, came to my father's

ther's houſe, where the Doctor being informed
the circumſtances of my cure, ſeverely chid his
other for his neglect, ſwearing he had a mind to
oot him, and that, if I had died, my blood
ould have been charged on his head. He then
dered me a remedy, which would heal up the
ound in twenty days. This fell out in the begin-
ing of May; at which time taking leave of my
ther and other friends in Ireland, I returned to
dinburgh, where, before the end of that month,
y wound was perfectly healed up; but I was
ever afterwards ſo able to bear fatigues as I had
itherto been.

The duke of York was arrived at Edinburgh the
lichaelmas before, where the general, from the
me he left Lanerk in July, continued with the
uards; the reſt of the forces quartered up and
own in other places. The general, after my
rrival, coming every day to ſee me, in his way,
s he went to the duke's court, did me the honour
o mention me and my ſervices to his royal high-
eſs, who was deſirous to ſee me; I was admitted
o kiſs his hand, and ordered to ſit down, in regard
o my honourable wounds, which would not ſuffer
ne to ſtand, without great pain. I cannot con-
eal this mark of favour and diſtinction, ſhewn
ne by a great prince, although I am very ſenſible
: will be imputed to vanity. I muſt remember
kewiſe, that upon my return to Edinburgh, hap-
ening to overtake the general in the ſtreet, and
ently touching him, his excellency turning in a
reat ſurprize, cried out, "O God, man, are you
"living?"

" living?" I anſwered that I was, and hoped to do the king and his excellency farther ſervice.

After I had continued a month with my friends in Edinburgh, who all congratulated with me upon my recovery, I repaired to the troop at Lanerk, where I often ranged with a party through the Weſt, to find out the ſtraggling remains of the covenanting rebels; but for ſome time without ſucceſs, till a week before Chriſtmas, after the duke of York ſucceeded to the crown, and a year and half after I was cured. Having drank hard one night, I dreamed that I had found captain David Steele, a notorious rebel, in one of the five farmers houſes on a mountain in the ſhire of Clydeſdale, and pariſh of Liſmahego, within eight miles of Hamilton, a place that I was well acquainted with. This man was head of the rebels, ſince the affair of Airs-moſs; having ſucceeded to Haxton, who had been there taken, and afterwards hanged, as the reader has already heard: for, as to Robert Hamilton, who was their commander in chief at Bothwell-bridge, he appeared no more among them, but fled, as it was believed, to Holland.

Steele, and his father before him, held a farm in the eſtate of Hamilton, within two or three miles of that town. When he betook himſelf to arms, the farm lay waſte, and the duke could find no other perſon, who would venture to take it; whereupon his grace ſent ſeveral meſſengers to Steele, to know the reaſon why he kept the farm waſte. The duke received no other anſwer, than that he would keep it waſte, in ſpite of him and the king

king too: whereupon his grace, at whoſe table I had always the honour to be a welcome gueſt, deſired I would uſe my endeavours to deſtroy that rogue, and I would oblige him for ever.

I muſt here take leave to inform the reader, that the duke of Hamilton's friendſhip for me was founded upon the many ſervices he knew I had done the publick, as well as upon the relation I bore to Sir Gerard Irvin; the perſon whom, of all the world, his grace moſt loved and eſteemed, ever ſince the time they had ſerved in arms together for the king, in the Highlands, with my lord Glencairn and Sir Arthur Forbes (father to the preſent earl of Granard), after the king's defeat at Worceſter, during the time of the uſurpation.

To return therefore to my ſtory; when I awaked out of my dream, as I had done before in the affair of Wilſon (and I deſire the ſame apology I made in the introduction to theſe memoirs may ſerve for both) I preſently roſe, and ordered thirty-ſix dragoons to be at the place appointed by break of day. When we arrived there, I ſent a party to each of the five farmers houſes. This villain Steele had murdered above forty of the king's ſubjects in cold blood; and as I was informed, had often laid ſnares to entrap me; but it happened, that although he uſually kept a gang to attend him, yet at this time he had none, when he ſtood in the greateſt need. One of my party found him in one of the farmers houſes, juſt as I happened to dream. The dragoons, firſt, ſearched all the rooms below without ſucceſs, till two of them hearing ſomebody ſtirring

ſtirring over their heads, went up a pair of turn pike ſtairs. Steele had put on his cloaths, while the ſearch was making below: the chamber where he lay was called the chamber of Deeſe, which is the name given to a room where the laird lies when he comes to a tenant's houſe. Steele, ſuddenly opening the door, fired a blunderbuſs down at the two dragoons, as they were coming up the ſtairs; but the bullets, grazing againſt the ſide of the turnpike, only wounded and did not kill them. Then Steele violently threw himſelf down the ſtairs among them, and made towards the door to ſave his life, but loſt it upon the ſpot; for the dragoons who guarded the houſe diſpatched him with their broad-ſwords. I was not with the party when he was killed, being at that time employed in ſearching at one of the other four houſes, but I ſoon found what had happened, by hearing the noiſe of the ſhot made with the blunderbuſs: from hence I returned ſtrait to Lanerk, and immediately ſent one of the dragoons expreſs to general Drummond at Edinburgh.

General Dalziel died about Michaelmas this year, and was ſucceeded by lieutenant general Drummond, who was likewiſe my very good friend.

But I cannot here let paſs the death of ſo brave and loyal a commander, as general Dalziel, without giving the reader ſome account of him, as far as my knowledge, or enquiry could reach.

Thomas Dalziel, among many other officers, was taken priſoner at the unfortunate defeat at Worceſter, and ſent to the Tower; from whence, I know not

not by what means, he made his eſcape, and went to Muſcovy; where the Czar then reigning made him his general: but ſome time after the reſtoration of the royal family, he gave up his commiſſion, and repairing to king Charles the Second, was, in conſideration of his eminent ſervices, conſtituted commander in chief of his majeſty's forces in Scotland; in which poſt he continued till his death, excepting only one fortnight, when he was ſuperſeded by the duke of Monmouth, ſome days before the action at Bothwell-bridge, as I have already related. He was bred up very hardy from his youth, both in diet and clothing. He never wore boots, nor above one coat, which was cloſe to his body, with cloſe ſleeves, like thoſe we call jockey-coats. He never wore a peruke; nor did he ſhave his beard ſince the murder of king Charles the Firſt. In my time, his head was bald, which he covered only with a beaver-hat, the brim of which was not above three inches broad. His beard was white and buſhy, and yet reached down almoſt to his girdle. He uſually went to London once or twice in a year, and then only to kiſs the king's hand, who had a great eſteem for his worth and valour. His unuſual dreſs and figure, when he was in London, never failed to draw after him a great crowd of boys, and other young people, who conſtantly attended at his lodgings, and followed him with huzzas, as he went to court, or returned from it. As he was a man of humour, he would always thank them for their civilities, when he left them at the door, to go into the king; and would let them

them know exactly at what hour he intended to come out again, and return to his lodgings. When the king walked in the park, attended by ſome of his courtiers, and Dalziel in his company, the ſame crowds would always be after him, ſhewing their admiration at his beard and dreſs, ſo that the king could hardly paſs on for the crowd; upon which his majeſty bid the devil take Dalziel, for bringing ſuch a rabble of boys together, to have their guts ſqueezed out, while they gaped at his long beard and antic habit; requeſting him, at the ſame time (as Dalziel uſed to expreſs it), to ſhave and dreſs like other Chriſtians, to keep the poor bairns out of danger. All this could never prevail on him to part with his beard, but yet, in compliance to his majeſty, he went once to court in the very height of the faſhion; but as ſoon as the king and thoſe about him had laughed ſufficiently at the ſtrange figure he made, he re-aſſumed his uſual habit, to the great joy of the boys, who had not diſcovered him in his faſhionable dreſs.

When the duke of York ſucceeded to the crown, general Dalziel was reſolved ſtill to retain his loyalty, although, at the ſame time, he often told his friends, that all things were going wrong at court; but death came very ſeaſonably, to reſcue him from the difficulties he was likely to be under, between the notions he had of duty to his prince on one ſide, and true zeal for his religion on the other.

I muſt now reſume a little my diſcourſe upon captain Steele. Some time before the action in which he was killed, general Drummond, who was

then newly made commander in chief, ſent for me in haſte, to attend him in Edinburgh: my way lay through a very ſtrong paſs, hard by Airs-moſs, and within a mile of Cumlock: as I was going through Cumlock, a friend there told me, that Steele, with a party, waited for me at the paſs. I had with me only one dragoon and a drummer: I ordered the latter to gallop on ſtrait to the paſs, and when he got thither, to beat a dragoon march, while I with the dragoon ſhould ride along the bye-path, on the edge of the moſs. When Steele and his men heard the drum, they ſcoured croſs the by-path into the moſs, apprehending that a ſtrong party was coming in ſearch of them: but either I or the dragoon (I forgot which) ſhot one of the rebels dead, as he croſſed us to get into the moſs. To put an end to this buſineſs of Steele. When the dragoon, whom I ſent expreſs, had delivered his meſſage to general Drummond, he was juſt ſetting out for his country-houſe at Dumblain; but returned to his lodgings, and wrote me a letter, that he would ſend for me up after the holy-days, and recommend me to the government, to reward me for my ſervices. He faithfully kept his word, but I received nothing more than promiſes.

Steele was buried in the church-yard of Liſmahego, by ſome of his friends; who, after the revolution, erected a fair monument, on pillars, over his grave, and cauſed an epitaph to be engraved on the ſtone, in words to this effect:

Here

Here lieth the body of captain David Steele, a ſaint, who was murdered by John Creichton. [*with the date underneath.*]

Some of my friends burleſqued this epitaph, in the following manner:

Here lies the body of ſaint Steele,
Murdered by John Creichton, that de'el.

Duke Hamilton, in queen Anne's time, informed me of this honour done to that infamous rebel: and when I had ſaid to his grace, that I wiſhed he had ordered his foot-men to demoliſh the monument, the duke anſwered, he would not have done ſo for five hundred pounds, becauſe it would be an honour to me as long as it laſted.

The laſt ſummer, about the end of May, if I remember right (and I deſire to be excuſed for not always relating things in the order when they happened) the marquis of Argyle, after having eſcaped out of the caſtle of Edinburgh, into Holland, returned to invade Scotland, to ſupport the duke of Monmouth's pretenſions to the crown, as was generally believed. He landed in his own country, in the Highlands, with a party of Dutch, and ſome Scottiſh gentlemen, who had fled for treaſon; among whom Sir John Cochran was of the greateſt note: whereupon the government ordered the marquis of Atholl, and Mr. Owen Cameron, laird of Lochiel, to raiſe their clans, and march with their party againſt Argyle. They did ſo, and, in the evening, pitched their camp cloſe by him. Here

in

in the night, Cameron, patroling with a party, met another of his own men, and taking them for enemies, becauſe they had loſt the word in their cups, killed eight or nine; among whom two or three happened to be perſons of note; the friends of thoſe who were killed, reſolving, if poſſible, to to have him hanged, he was obliged to ride poſt to the king. He went to his majeſty in the dreſs in which he had travelled; and the king, being already informed how the accident happened, inſtead of ſuffering him to tell his ſtory, commanded him to draw his broad-ſword, intending to knight him therewith: but Cameron could not draw it, becauſe the ſcabbard had got wet on the way. The king, obſerving the confuſion he was in, ſaid, he knew the reaſon that kept the ſword in the ſheath; adding that he never failed to draw it, in the ſervice of his father, his brother, and himſelf; whereupon he was knighted with another ſword, with the title of Sir Owen Cameron. He returned to Edinburgh, and from thence went as a volunteer, to ſerve in the ſtanding army, which was then moving towards the coaſt of Galloway, to prevent Argyle from landing. For, upon the oppoſition he found from the marquis of Atholl, and his men, with their aſſiſtance in the Highlands, he ſhipped his forces, and ſailed round to the Weſt, hoping to land there. But the army moving along the coaſt, always in ſight of him, compelled him to return the way he came, until he landed in his own country again. From thence, after gathering what ſupplies of men he could, he marched, and en-

camped in the evening, within two or three miles of Glaſgow. But the king's army, having ſent out ſcouts to diſcover what way he took, encamped over againſt him the ſame evening, on an eminence; there being a bog between both armies.

The king's forces conſiſted of the earl of Linlithgow's regiment of foot-guards, the earl of Mar's of foot, Clavers's of horſe, Dunmore's of dragoons, Buchan's of foot, and Levingſton's of horſe-guards, with ſome gentlemen of quality, volunteers; among whom the earl of Dunbarton was of the greateſt note.

Here the two armies lay in ſight of each other; but, before morning, Argyle was gone, his Highlanders having deſerted him; and then the king's army went to refreſh themſelves at Glaſgow, waiting till it could be known which way Argyle had fled. It was ſoon underſtood that he had croſſed the Clyde, at Kilpatrick; and that Sir John Cochran lay with a party, in a ſtone-dyke park, about ten miles off. The lord Roſs was therefore diſpatched, with a party of horſe, and captain Cleland, who was now my captain (my friend Stuart being dead) with another of dragoons, to find them out: when they came up to the park, where Sir John Cochran lay with his Dutch, they fired at one another, and ſome of the king's ſoldiers fell, among whom captain Cleland was one; whereupon the troop was given to Sir Adam Blair (who was likewiſe wounded in that raſh engagement) although, upon duke Hamilton's application to the king, I had been promiſed to ſucceed Cleland. But Sir

Adam, and ſecretary Melford, being brothers-in-law, that intereſt prevailed.

I muſt deſire the reader's pardon, for ſo frequently interſperſing my own private affairs with thoſe of the publick; but what I chiefly propoſed, was to write my own memoirs, and not a hiſtory of the times, farther than I was concerned in them.

Night coming on, the king's party withdrew, leaving Sir John Cochran in the park; who, notwithſtanding this little ſucceſs, deſired his followers to ſhift for themſelves, and left them before morning. Argyle next evening was found alone, a mile above Greenock, at the water-ſide, endeavouring to get into a little boat, and grappling with the owner thereof, a poor weaver. It ſeems he wanted preſence of mind, to engage the man with a piece of money, to ſet him on the other ſide. In the mean time, Sir John Shaw, riding with ſome gentlemen to Greenock, and ſeeing the ſtruggle, ſeized the earl, and carried him to Glaſgow, from whence he was ſent with a ſtrong guard to Edinburgh, and ſome time after beheaded.

The next day, the army marched towards the borders, againſt the duke of Monmouth; but an expreſs arriving of his defeat, the troops were commanded to repair to their ſeveral quarters.

I ſhall here occaſionally relate an unfortunate accident, which happened this ſummer in Scotland.

M'Donnel, laird of Cappagh in the Highlands, within eight miles of Inverlochy, was unjuſtly poſſeſſed, as moſt men believed, for many years, of an eſtate, which in right belonged to the laird of

Mackintoſh. Both theſe gentlemen were well affected to the king. The laird of Cappagh, after ſowing-time was over, had gone that ſummer, as it was his cuſtom, to make merry with his clans, on the mountains, till the time of harveſt ſhould call him home. But in his abſence, Mackintoſh, and his clans, aſſiſted with a party of the army, by order of the government, poſſeſſed himſelf of Cappagh's eſtate; whereupon M'Donnel, and his clans, returning from the mountains, ſet upon the enemy, killed ſeveral gentlemen among them, and took Mackintoſh himſelf priſoner. M'Donnel had given ſtrict orders to his men, not to kill any of the army. But captain M'Kenzie, who commanded on the other ſide, making a ſhot at one of M'Donnel's men, who was purſuing his adverſary, the man, diſcharging his piſtol at the captain, ſhot him in the knee, who, after having been carried fifty miles, to Inverneſs, to a ſurgeon, died of his wound.

Soon after, the government ordered me to detach ſixty dragoons, with a lieutenant, cornet, and ſtandard, and to march with captain Streighton, and two hundred of the foot-guards, againſt the M'Donnels; to deſtroy man, woman, and child, pertaining to the laird of Cappagh, and to burn his houſes and corn. Upon the approach of our party, M'Donnel, laird of Cappagh, diſmiſſing his priſoners, retired farther into the mountains; whereupon we who were ſent againſt him continued to deſtroy all the houſes and corn, from the time of Lammaſs to the tenth of September: and then

hen we advanced towards the borders, to join the Scotch army, which at that time was marching towards England, againſt the prince of Orange, who hen intended an invaſion. We arrived there the irſt of October, after a march of two hundred miles.

General Drummond being then dead, James Douglas, brother to the duke of Queenſberry, ſucceeded him as commander in chief: and Graham aird of Clavers (about this time created lord Dunlee) was major general. On the firſt of October he army paſſed the Tweed, and drew up on the anks, on the Engliſh ſide; where the general gave a ſtrict charge to the officers, that they ſhould keep heir men from offering the leaſt injury in their narch; adding, that if he heard any of the Engliſh complain, the officers ſhould anſwer for the aults of their men; and ſo they arrived at Carliſle hat night.

Next day, general Douglas, by order from the ing, marched the foot, by Cheſter, towards London; and Dundee the horſe, by York: at which ity he arrived in four or five days. The army did ot reach London till about the five and twentieth of October, being ordered, by the contrivance of Douglas the general, to march ſlow, on purpoſe hat the prince of Orange might land, before the ing's forces ſhould grow ſtrong enough to oppoſe im.

The Scotch army, at this time, conſiſted of four egiments of foot, one of horſe, one of dragoons, ne troop of horſe-guards; and it was computed, hat the earl of Feverſham, who was then general

of all the king's forces, had under his command, of Engliſh, Scotch, and Iriſh, an army of near thirty thouſand men. Soon after the prince's landing, the king went to Saliſbury, with a guard of two hundred horſe, commanded by the old earl of Airlie, two days before the body of the army came up to him. The earl of Airlie, when he was lord Ogleby, had attended the great marquis of Montroſe in all his actions, for king Charles the Firſt and Second. But, at this time, being old, it was reported that he was dead, before the Scotch forces went into England, to oppoſe the prince of Orange; whereupon the king believing the report, had given his troop in Dundee's regiment to the earl of Annandale. But the earl having overtaken the army at Cambridge, in their march, went on to London, and there preſenting himſelf before the king, his majeſty was ſo juſt and gracious that he immediately reſtored his lordſhip to the troop, ordering him at the ſame time to command thoſe two hundred men who attended him down to Saliſbury.

When all the forces were arrived at Saliſbury, the earl of Dunmore with his regiment of dragoons (wherein I ſerved) was ordered to a paſs three miles below the city, where I commanded the guard that night.

The ſame morning that the army arrived, the great men about the king, as the lord Churchill, &c. to the number of thirty, adviſed his majeſty to take the air on horſeback, intending, as the earl of Dunmore was informed, to give up their maſter to the prince: but the king, probably ſuſpecting the

the deſign, returned in haſte to the city. Next night, at a council of war, called to conſult what was fitteſt to be done in the preſent juncture of affairs, the very ſame great men ſwore to ſtand by his majeſty with their lives and fortunes; and as ſoon as he was gone to reſt, mounting on horſe-back, they all went over to the prince, except the earl of Feverſham, Dunbarton, and a very few more: for the earl of Dunbarton going to his majeſty, for orders, at four of the clock in the morning, found they were all departed.

Thoſe few who ſtayed with the king adviſed his majeſty to return immediately to London; and the lord Dundee was ordered to bring up the Scotch horſe and dragoons, with the duke of Berwick's regiment of horſe, to Reading; where he joined Dunbarton with his forces, and continued there nine or ten days. They were, in all, about ten thouſand ſtrong. General Douglas, with his regiment of foot-guards, paſſing by Reading, lay at Maidenhead; from whence one of his battalions revolted to the prince, under the conduct only of a corporal, whoſe name was Kemp. However, Douglas aſſured the king, that this defection happened againſt his will; and yet, when the officers were ready to fire upon the deſerters, his compaſſion was ſuch, that he would not permit them.

After this, the earl of Dunbarton, and the lord Dundee, with all the officers who adhered to the king, were ordered to meet his majeſty at Uxbridge, where he deſigned to fight the prince: the earl of Feverſham got thither before the king and

the army arrived. When the forces drew together, every party ſent an officer to the earl of Feverſham, to receive his commands. I attended his lordſhip from my lord Dundee, and was ordered, with the reſt, to wait till the king came to dinner, his majeſty being expected within half an hour; but it fell out otherwiſe: for the earl, to his great ſurpriſe, received a letter from the king, ſignifying, that his majeſty was gone off, and had no farther ſervice for the army. When I carried this news to my lord Dundee, neither his lordſhip, nor the lords Linlithgow and Dunmore, could forbear falling into tears: after which, being at a loſs what courſe to take, I ſaid to my lord Dundee, that as he had brought us out of Scotland, he ſhould convey us thither back again in a body; adding, that the forces might lie that night at Watford, ſix miles off: my advice was followed, and I went before to get billets, where to quarter the men. My lord Dundee ordered all to be ready at ſound of trumpet, and to unbridle their horſes no longer than while they were eating their oats. The townſmen contrived to give out a report, before day, that the prince of Orange was approaching, hoping to affright us away with a falſe alarm: whereupon we marched out, but at the ſame time drew up in a ſtrong encloſure, at the town's end: reſolving to fight the prince if he ſhould advance towards us. My lord Dundee diſpatched me immediately, to diſcover whether the report of the prince's approach were true; but I only met a meſſenger with a letter from his highneſs, to my lord Dundee, which

which I received and delivered to his lordſhip. The contents of it, as far as I am able to recollect, were as follow:

" My Lord DUNDEE,

" I underſtand you are now at Watford, and " that you keep your men together; I deſire you " may ſtay there till farther orders, and, upon " my honour, none in my army ſhall touch you.

" W. H. Prince of ORANGE."

Upon the receipt of this letter, our forces returned into the town, ſet up their horſes, and refreſhed themſelves. About three in the afternoon, there came intelligence, that the king would be at Whitehall that night, having returned from Feverſham, whither he had fled in diſguiſe, and was ill treated by the rabble before they diſcovered him. Upon this incident, the lords Dundee, Dunmore, Linlithgow, and myſelf, who deſired leave to go with my colonel, took horſe; and, arriving at Whitehall a little after the king, had the honour to kiſs his majeſty's hand.

The next morning, the earl of Feverſham was ſent by the king, with ſome propoſals to the prince of Orange, who was then at Windſor; where his lordſhip was put in arreſt by the prince's command, who ſent the marquis of Halifax, the earl of Shrewſbury, and the lord Delamere (if I rightly remember) to the king, with his highneſs's order that his majeſty ſhould remove from Whitehall, next day, before twelve o'clock. This order

was

was given about one in the morning: at the ſame time, a barge was brought to Whitehall, and a Dutch guard ſet about the king, without his knowledge, but with directions to ſee him ſafe, if he had a mind to go on board any ſhip, in order to his eſcape. A ſhip, it ſeems, was likewiſe prepared, and his majeſty, attended by the lords Dunmore, Arran and Middleton, went on board; and then the three lords returned to London. The prince arrived at St. James's about two hours after his majeſty's departure: and the earl of Arran went, among the reſt, to attend his highneſs: to whom being introduced, he told the prince, that the king, his maſter, had commanded him, upon his departure, to wait upon his highneſs, and receive his commands. The prince replied, he was glad to ſee him, and had an eſteem for him and all men of honour. Then turning aſide to ſome other perſons, who were making their court; Dr. Burnet, ſoon after made biſhop of Saliſbury, who had been the earl of Arran's governor, coming up to his lordſhip, cried, "Ay, my lord Arran, you are "now come in, and think to make a merit when "the work is done." To this inſult the earl, in the hearing of many, replied only, "Come, doc-"tor, we ken ane another weel enough." And the earl's own father told the prince, that if this young fellow were not ſecured, he would, perhaps, give his highneſs ſome trouble. Whereupon this noble young lord was ſent to the tower, where he continued about a year, and then returned to Scotland: and ſoon after, the young lord Forbes, now earl

earl Granard, was likewiſe impriſoned in the ſame place. King William had made ſeveral advances to his lordſhip, as he did to many other perſons of quality, to engage him in his ſervice; and ſending for him one day, aſked him, why he did not take care of his regiment? My lord Forbes, not being provided on a ſudden with a better anſwer, told the king, that having been born in Ireland, he had not credit enough, he believed, to raiſe men to fill up the places of the papiſts in his regiment. King William thereupon ſaid, he would take that charge upon himſelf. Lord Forbes, having now recollected himſelf, ſaid, he had likewiſe another reaſon why he found it neceſſary to decline his ſervice, but was unwilling to mention it, not having the leaſt intention to diſoblige his highneſs. The prince deſired that he might do it freely, and it ſhould not diſoblige him; whereupon my lord ſaid, that having ſworn to retain his loyalty to king James, he could not, in honour and conſcience, without his maſter's permiſſion, enter into the ſervice of another prince, during his majeſty's life. Whereupon king William, ſoon after, thought it proper to ſend him to the Tower; but however, was ſo generous, as in the time of his confinement, to ſend one of the clerks of the treaſury with an order to pay him two hundred pounds, as very reaſonably thinking, that under the loſs of his regiment, as well as his rents in Ireland, he might want money to ſupport himſelf. My lord Forbes having aſked the clerk, by whoſe direction he brought that ſum? And the other anſwering, that he was only ordered

ordered to pay the money to his lordſhip, and to take his receipt, conjectured this preſent to have proceeded from king William; and therefore deſired the clerk to preſent his moſt humble reſpects and thanks to his highneſs, and to let him know, that as he had never done him any ſervice, he could not, in honour, receive any marks of his bounty.

Upon this ſubject I muſt add one more particular, that when my lord Forbes arrived with his regiment out of Ireland, and attended on king James, he adviſed his majeſty to fight the prince upon the firſt opportunity after his landing, before his party ſhould grow ſtrong: but thoſe about the king, who had already engaged in the other intereſt, would not ſuffer that advice to be followed.

I now return to my lord Dundee, and my lord Dunmore. Their lordſhips acted no longer as colonels, when they underſtood that the prince intended to place himſelf on the throne during his majeſty's life: but the firſt, with the twenty-four troopers, who followed him up from Watford, left London, and repaired, with the utmoſt expedition, to his own caſtle; and the ſecond, ſome time after, to Edinburgh, lying both quiet until the convention of the ſtates of Scotland was called.

After their lordſhips were gone to Scotland, I went to Watford, where my lord Kilſyth, as lieutenant colonel, commanded the lord Dunmore's regiment of dragoons; the reſt of the army, which had been there, being gone to other places. Then

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major-general M'Coy ordered the lord Kilſyth to march the regiment from place to place, until they ſhould come to Congerton, a town in Cheſhire. Here they quartered, when the prince and princeſs of Orange were proclaimed king and queen of England, *&c.* by the ſheriff and three or four bailiffs. It happened to be a very ſtormy day; and when the ſheriff had done his office, a crack-brained fellow, at the head of a great rabble, proclaimed the duke of Monmouth king, to the great diverſion of the regiment, not believing he had been beheaded.

When my lord Dundee refuſed to ſerve the prince of Orange, Sir Thomas Levingſton, of my lord Kilſyth's family, got the regiment. This gentleman was born in Holland, and often uſed to raiſe recruits in Scotland; upon which account, he was well known to the regiment. He came down poſt to Congerton, at ſupper, told the officers, that he was ſent to know, which of them would ſerve king William, and which would not? Now the oath of allegiance to that prince having not been offered to that regiment, one of the company anſwered, that we, having ſworn allegiance to king James, could not, in conſcience and honour, draw our ſwords againſt him; whereupon Sir Thomas, drinking an health to king James upon his knees, anſwered, that he wiſhed he might be damned, whenever he ſhould command them to break that oath. And, in order to ingratiate himſelf farther with the regiment, added, that he would return to London next day, for a command to march them ſtrait to Scotland,

land, where their wives and friends were; and likewiſe to procure a captain's commiſſion for me, ſince Sir Adam Blair, who commanded the troop in which I was lieutenant, had refuſed to ſerve king William; both which he accordingly obtained.

When he returned from London, he marched with the regiment directly through Berwick into Scotland; and as they paſſed by Edinburgh (the caſtle whereof was kept for king James by the duke of Gordon) Sir Thomas and my lord Kilſyth went into the town, to receive duke Hamilton's command, who was then high commiſſioner; and ſome other officers went in at the ſame time, to ſee their wives and friends.

The duke aſked Sir Thomas, where I was? And, being informed that I was gone to Stirling deſired I might be ſent for. Upon my attending his grace, he was pleaſed to ſay, that he had been always my friend; and that he now had it in his power to provide for me, if I would be true to my truſt (for he ſuppoſed I had taken the oath to king William), and upon my anſwer, that I would be true to what I had ſworn, the duke replied, it was very well.

Upon this occaſion, and before I proceed farther, I think it will be proper to make ſome apology for my future conduct; becauſe I am conſcious, that many people, who are in another intereſt, may be apt to think and ſpeak hardly of me: but I deſire they would pleaſe to conſider, that the Revolution was then an event altogether new, and had

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put many men much wiſer than myſelf at a loſs how to proceed. I had taken the oath of allegiance to king James; and having been bred up in the ſtricteſt principles of loyalty, could not force my conſcience to diſpenſe with that oath, during his majeſty's life. All thoſe perſons of quality in Scotland to whom I had been moſt obliged, and on whom I chiefly depended, did ſtill adhere to that prince. Thoſe people whom, from my youth, I had been taught to abhor; whom, by the commands of my ſuperiors, I had conſtantly treated as rebels; and who conſequently conceived an irreconcileable animoſity againſt me; were, upon this great change, the higheſt in favour and employments. And laſtly, the eſtabliſhed religion in Scotland, which was epiſcopal, under which I had been educated, and to which I had always borne the higheſt veneration, was utterly deſtroyed in that kingdom (although preſerved in the other two) and the preſbyterian kirk, which had ever been my greateſt averſion, exalted in its ſtead.

Upon all theſe conſiderations, I hope every candid reader will be ſo juſt to believe, that ſuppoſing me in an error, I acted at leaſt ſincerely, and according to the dictates of my conſcience; and as it is manifeſt, without any worldly view: for, I had then conſiderable offers made me, and in all probability ſhould have been greatly advanced, if I could have perſuaded myſelf to accept them.

Having ſaid thus much to excuſe my conduct from that time forward, I ſhall now proceed to relate

late facts and paſſages juſt as they happened; and avoid, as much as poſſible, giving any offence.

My lord Dunmore being then at Edinburgh, I thought it my duty to pay my reſpects to his lordſhip, who had been alſo my colonel. He was pleaſed to invite me to dine with him that day at a tavern; where he ſaid lieutenant-general Douglas (who had left England, a little before, on ſome pretence or other) the lord Kilſyth, and captain Murray (all his ain lads, as his lordſhip expreſſed himſelf) were to meet him. I objected againſt Douglas, that he was not to be truſted; this was the ſame man, who afterwards was lieutenant-general of king William's army in Ireland, againſt king James; and whoſe name will never be forgot in that kingdom, on account of his many ravages and barbarities committed there; but his lordſhip anſwered, that he would pawn his life for his honeſty; becauſe my lord Dundee had aſſured him, that the lieutenant-general had given him his faith and honour, to be with him in five days, if he marched to the hills to declare for king James. Whereupon I ſubmitted my ſcruples to my colonel's judgment; and accordingly we all met together at the tavern.

Dinner was no ſooner done, than we heard the news that king James was landed in Ireland: then Douglas taking a beer glaſs, and looking round him, ſaid, Gentlemen, we have all eat of his bread, and here is his health; which he drank off, on his knees; and all the company did the ſame: then

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filling another bumper, he drank damnation to all who would ever draw a ſword againſt him.

I then returned to Stirling, and ſoon after, the ſtates of Scotland met. To this convention my lord Dundee went incognito; left the rabble, who had threatened his perſon, ſhould aſſault him in the ſtreets. He made a ſpeech to the houſe, to the following purpoſe: "That he came thither as a "peer of the realm to ſerve his majeſty; and that "if the king had no ſervice for him, he hoped "that honourable aſſembly would protect him as "a peaceable ſubject from the rage of his ene-"mies."

Upon receiving an anſwer from the ſtates, that they could not poſſibly do it, he ſlipped out of the houſe, and privately withdrew from the town; followed by the twenty-four troopers, who had attended him thither: and, as he rode by the caſtle, ſeeing the duke of Gordon, who commanded it, walking on the walls, he charged his grace, to keep the place for king James, till he ſhould hear farther from him; who was then going, he ſaid, to appear in the field for his majeſty.

His lordſhip had no ſooner left the town, than one major Bunting, with a party by order from the convention, followed, with directions to ſeize him; whereupon my lord Dundee, commanding his attendants to march on gently, ſtopped to ſpeak with the major; and underſtanding his errand, adviſed him to return, or he would ſend him back to his maſters in a pair of blankets, as he expreſſed himſelf. The major (who perhaps was no enemy to

his lordſhip) returned accordingly, and my lord arrived at his caſtle, where he ſtayed only that night: for in the morning, taking four thouſand pounds with him, he went into the Highlands, to Sir Owen Cameron; where he was ſoon joined by the laird of Cappagh, who, ſome time before, had been driven out of his eſtate by order of king James (as I have already related) and by many other gentlemen of quality.

Major general M'Coy, coming to Edinburgh at this juncture, was ordered to march the forces, which he brought with him, againſt my lord Dundee. Theſe forces conſiſted of three or four regiments of foot, and one of horſe; beſide Sir Thomas Levingſton's of dragoons. They ſtopped, in their march, a night or two at Dundee. The firſt night, I got privately into the caſtle (as it had been agreed between my lord Kilſyth and me) and there aſſured my lady Dundee, that the regiment of dragoons, in which I ſerved, ſhould be at her lord's ſervice, whenever he pleaſed to command; whereof her ladyſhip gave notice next day to her huſband; who ſent me a note, by a ragged Highlander, which I received as we were on our march from the town of Dundee towards the Highlands. The contents of my lord's note were, "That he had written to "the king, to ſend him two thouſand foot, and "one thouſand horſe out of Ireland; and that as "ſoon as thoſe forces were arrived, he would ex- "pect me with a regiment of dragoons."

When major general M'Coy came within ſight of my lord Dundee, night coming on, obliged him

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to halt, which gave opportunity to his lordſhip to retreat in the morning; but M'Coy followed him all day; whereupon, facing about, my lord advanced towards him, which cauſed the major general to retreat in his turn. Thus we ſpent about three weeks, ſometimes purſuing, and ſometimes purſued; our leader, M'Coy, ſtill writing every poſt for new ſupplies; till at laſt, one regiment of dragoons, and another of foot, came to his aſſiſtance on the 5th of June 1689. When this reinforcement came, he got intelligence of my lord Kilſyth's intention and mine, of going over with the regiment to my lord Dundee.

All people agreed, that lieutenant-general Douglas, who had made ſo many ſolemn profeſſions of his loyalty to king James, and whoſe health he had drank on his knees, was the very perſon who had given this intelligence to M'Coy; becauſe he alone knew what had paſſed at the tavern, where we dined; and becauſe, inſtead of going with Dundee, as he had promiſed him upon his faith and honour, he had rid poſt for London.

From this period, my troubles began; for I was then ſent up to Edinburgh, and there impriſoned in the tolbooth, together with my lord Kilſyth, captain Levingſton, captain Murray, and lieutenant Murray; each of us in a ſeparate dungeon; with orders that none ſhould be permitted to ſpeak with us, except through the key-hole: and in this miſerable condition we lay for two months.

My lord Kilſyth's friends were under great apprehenſions that I would betray his lordſhip. But

my lord did me the juſtice to aſſure them, that I would ſuffer the worſt extremity rather than be guilty of ſo infamous an action; which, he ſaid, they ſhould find, upon any temptation that might offer. When we had been cloſe confined in our dungeons for two months, we were brought before the council, one by one, to be examined, concerning our knowledge of my lord Kilſyth's intention to carry off the regiment. Levingſton and the two Murrays, having not been privy to that deſign, were able to diſcover nothing to his lordſhip's prejudice; and were likewiſe gentlemen of too much honour, to purchaſe their liberty with a lie: whereupon they were remanded back to their ſeveral dungeons. It was my turn to be next examined; and I was ſtrongly ſuſpected; but notwithſtanding my liberty was promiſed me if I would diſcover all I knew of the matter, the lord advocate at the ſame time alſo urging I muſt have certainly been privy to it; I poſitively denied any knowledge of that affair, adding, that I believed my lord Kilſyth had never entertained ſuch a deſign; or, if he had, that it was altogether improbable his lordſhip ſhould impart it to me, a poor ſtranger born in Ireland, and yet keep it a ſecret from gentlemen of the kingdom, in whom he might much better confide. This I ſtill repeated, and ſtood to with great firmneſs, even after I ſaw the hangman, with the torturing boots ſtanding at my back: whereupon I was likewiſe returned to my dungeon.

The council, although they could force no confeſſion from me, or my companions, that might affect

affect my lord Kilſyth, on whoſe eſtate their hearts were much ſet, yet reſolved to make a ſacrifice of ſome one among us. But, the other gentlemen being of their own kindred and country, and I a ſtranger, as well as much hated for proſecuting the covenanters (who, by the change of the times, meaſures, and opinions, were now grown into high favour with the government, as I have before mentioned) the lot fell on me, and they gave out a report that I ſhould be hanged within a few days. But, a gentleman then in town, one Mr. Buchannan, who held a ſecret correſpondence with my lord Dundee, ſent his lordſhip intelligence of this their reſolution concerning me.

That lord was then at the caſtle of Blair of Atholl; and having notice of the danger I was in, wrote a letter to duke Hamilton, preſident of the council, deſiring his grace to inform the board, "That if they hanged captain Creichton, or (to "uſe his own homely expreſſion) they touched an "hair of his tail, he would cut the laird of Blair, "and the laird of Pollock, joint by joint, and would "ſend their limbs in hampers to the council."

Theſe two gentlemen having been taken priſoners at St. Johnſtown, by my lord Dundee, were ſtill kept in confinement. Whereupon the duke, though it was night, called the council, which met immediately, ſuppoſing that the buſineſs, which preſſed ſo much, might relate to ſome expreſs from court. But when the clerk read my lord Dundee's letter, they appeared in great confuſion: whereupon the duke ſaid, "I fear we dare not touch an hair of "Creichton;" for ye all know Dundee too well,

to doubt whether he will be punctual to his word; and the two gentlemen in his hands are too nearly allied to ſome here, that their lives ſhould be endangered on this occaſion. What his grace ſaid was very true: for, if I remember right, the laird of Blair had married a daughter of a former duke of Hamilton. The iſſue of the matter was, that under this perplexity, they all cried out, "Let the "fellow live a while longer."

Not long after this, happened the battle of Gillicranky, near the caſtle of Blair of Atholl; where the forces under the lord Dundee, conſiſting of no more than ſeventeen hundred foot (all Highlanders, except three hundred ſent him from Ireland, under the command of colonel Cannon, when he expected three thouſand, as I have mentioned) and forty-five horſe, routed an army of five thouſand men, with major general M'Coy at their head; took fifteen hundred priſoners, and killed a great number, among whom colonel Balfour was one. M'Coy eſcaped, and fled that night twenty-five miles end-ways, to the caſtle of Drummond.

But my lord Dundee did not live to ſee himſelf victorious: for, as he was wheeling about a rock, over the enemy's heads, and making down the brae to attack them (they making a running fire) he was killed by a random ſhot, at the beginning of the action: yet his men diſcovered not his fall, till they had obtained the victory. The next day, though victorious, they ſuffered their priſoners to depart, on parole, that they would never take up arms

againſt king James; colonel Ferguſſon only excepted, on account of his more than ordinary zeal for the new eſtabliſhment.

King William, having heard of this defeat, ſaid, "He knew the lord Dundee ſo well, that he muſt "have been either killed or mortally wounded; "otherwiſe, before that time, he would have been "maſter of Edinburgh."

I now deſire leave to return to my own affairs. About four months after my examination, I was adviſed, in plain words, by the dukes of Hamilton and Queenſberry, who were then going up to London, that I ſhould bribe Melvil, then ſecretary of Scotland; with whom their graces likewiſe would uſe their intereſt, to get an order from king William for my liberty. But I was ſo far from having money to bribe a courtier of the ſecretary's rank, that I had hardly enough to ſupport myſelf. Whereupon my noble friend, the lord Kilſyth, who thought himſelf indebted to my fidelity for his life and fortune, was ſo extremely generous, as to make me a preſent of five hundred pounds, which I immediately ſent to Melvil; who, thereupon, joining his intereſt with the good offices of the two dukes before-mentioned, prevailed with king William to ſend down an order; upon the receipt of which, I was to be ſet at liberty by the council. But they would not obey it; alleging that the king was miſinformed: and out of the abundance of their zeal, wrote to him, that, if captain Creichton ſhould obtain his liberty, he would murder all Scotland in one night.

Thus my hope and liberty vaniſhed; for king William ſoon after going to Flanders, and not thinking it prudent to diſcredit the repreſentation which the council had made of me, as ſo very dangerous a perſon, left me in the tolbooth; though the two dukes, out of their great friendſhip (which I ſhould be moſt ungrateful ever to forget) had both offered to anſwer body for body, for my peaceable demeanour. But notwithſtanding all this, king William, for the reaſon before mentioned, left me priſoner in the tolbooth, as I ſaid; where I continued two years and a half longer, without one penny of money; though not without many friends, whoſe charity and generoſity ſupported me under this heavy affliction.

My wife and two boys, with as many daughters, were in town all the time of my confinement. The boys died young, but the mother and the two girls lived to endure many hardſhips; having been twice plundered by the rabble, of the little ſubſtance they had left; however, they and myſelf were ſtill providentially relieved by ſome friend or other; and particularly once by the lady Carnwath (mother of the preſent earl) who, when we had not one penny left to buy bread, ſent us up a ſack of meal, and a baſket of fowl, ſixty miles from Edinburgh.

My fellow-priſoners and I, after the time of our examination by the council, were allowed, for four or five hours every day, to converſe with each other, and with our friends: and when we had been three years in the tolbooth, my companions being

being related to the beſt families in the kingdom, were at laſt permitted, on bail, to lodge in the city, with a centry at each of their doors. But I was not allowed the ſame favour, till two months after; when duke Hamilton, ſtill my friend, with much difficulty and ſtrong application to the council, obtained it for me: and when the order was at laſt granted, I was at a great loſs to find ſuch a perſon for my bail whom the council would approve of; till the laird of Pettencrife, a gentleman whom I had never ſeen before, ſent up his name (without any application from me) to the clerk, and was accordingly accepted.

I had not been two months diſcharged out of the tolbooth, and removed to a private lodging in the town, with a centry upon me, when the government, upon ſome pretence or other, filled the caſtle with a great number of perſons of quality; among whom were the lords Kilſyth, Hume, and ſeveral others; and the tolbooth again, with as many of inferior note as it could hold.

In a week after I had been permitted to live in the city with my family, I found the centry had orders to keep me cloſe, without allowing me to ſtir from my lodgings upon any pretence whatſoever: but when another regiment came to relieve that which was before upon duty, I bribed him who had been my keeper, at his going off, that he ſhould tell the firſt who came in his place, that his orders were to "walk with me to any part of the "town I pleaſed." This was accordingly done, and thenceforward I uſed to take my centry along with me,

me, and viſit my old fellow-priſoners, the Gillicrankymen, and ſometimes ſtay with them all night; at other times, my friends would do the ſame at my lodgings; among whom the lord William Douglas often did me that honour: nay, ſometimes, in company of ſome gentlemen, I would leave the centry drinking with the footmen in an ale-houſe, at the back of the town-wall, while we rambled nine or ten miles in the country, to viſit ſome acquaintance or other; ſtill taking care to return before two in the afternoon, which was the hour of parade, to ſave the centry from danger.

Thus I ſpent above two months, till the day the government had filled the caſtle and the tolbooth again, as I have mentioned already. As ſoon as I was told of my lord Kilſyth's impriſonment, I knew the danger I was in, and had juſt time to run with the centry to a cellar, where I found twelve officers got together for ſhelter likewiſe from the ſtorm, a little before me. We ſtayed there cloſe till night, and then diſpatched my centry, with captain Mair's footman, to the lady Lockhart's (who was married to the captain) four miles out of town, to let her know, that her huſband would be at home that night, with twelve other cavaliers (for ſo in thoſe days we affected to ſtyle ourſelves) to avoid being impriſoned in the tolbooth.

When the meſſage was delivered, the lady ordered three or four of her ſervants, to take the centry up four pair of ſtairs, and to ply him well with drink. Accordingly they kept him drunk for twelve days and nights together, ſo that he neither ſaw me, nor

nor I him, in all that time. Two days after we came to lady Lockhart's, I determined, againſt her and her friends advice, to return privately to Edinburgh, to diſcourſe with the laird of Pittencrife, my bail: reſolving at all adventures, that ſo generous a perſon ſhould not be a ſufferer on my account. I accordingly repaired, in the night, to the ſame ale-houſe, at the back of the town-wall, and thence ſent the footman, who attended me, to bring the laird thither. He preſently came, with two other gentlemen in his company; and after drinking together for half an hour, he bid me "go "whither I pleaſed, and God's bleſſing along with "me;" whereupon, thruſting me out at the door in a friendly manner, he added, that he would pay the hundred pounds, he was bound in, to the council, next morning, if demanded of him; which they accordingly did, and the money was paid.

I then returned to the company at my lady Lockhart's, and thence wrote to the two dukes beforementioned for their advice, what courſe to take? Their anſwer was, "That, in regard to my poor "family, I ſhould make my eſcape to my own "country, and their ſet potatoes, till I ſaw better "times." At the end of twelve days, captain Mair and his eleven friends got over ſeas to St. Germains; when I likewiſe took my leave of them and the lady, to make the beſt of my way for Ireland. But I bethought me of the poor centry (to whom the twelve days we ſtayed there ſeemed no longer than two or three, ſo well was he plied with drink), and calling for him, aſked whether he would chooſe

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to ſhare with me and my fortunes, or go back to the regiment, perhaps to be ſhot for neglect of his duty? He readily anſwered, that he would go with me whither ever I went; and not long after we came into Ireland, I had the good luck to get him made a ſerjeant of grenadiers, in the regiment formerly commanded by my lord Dunbarton, by a captain who was then gone thither for recruits; in which regiment he died a lieutenant ſome years after.

The lady, at parting, made me a preſent of a good horſe, with ten dollars, to bear my charges on the way; and moreover hired a tenant's horſe to carry the centry to the Borders. I durſt not be ſeen to paſs through Galloway, and therefore went by Carliſle to Whitehaven. Here I found an acquaintance, who was miniſter of the town, of the name of Marr; a gentleman of great worth and learning. Before the Revolution, he had been miniſter of a pariſh in Scotland, near the Borders: but about the time of that event, the rabble, as he told me the ſtory, came to his houſe, in the night, to rob and murder him; having treated others of his brethren, the epiſcopal clergy, before in that inhuman manner. He was a ſingle man, and had but one man-ſervant, whoſe buſineſs was to dreſs his meat, and make his bed; and while the villains were breaking into the houſe, he had juſt time to put on his breeches, ſtockings, and ſhoes, and no more; for by that time they were got in; when he thought it better to leap out at the window, but half-cloathed as he was, than to expoſe

his life to the fury of ſuch, whoſe very mercies might be cruel. Thus he ſaved his life, and made his eſcape to the Engliſh ſide, with only four dollars in his pocket; leaving his goods, houſe, and pariſh, as plunder, to thoſe ſaints; who, doubtleſs, looked on ſuch as he was, as no other than a uſurper of what, of right, pertained to them; purſuant to the maxim, "That dominion is founded "in grace."

And here I beg leave to relate the treatment which another epiſcopal clergyman received from that tribe, about the ſame time: his name was Kirkwood, whom I likewiſe knew, before the Revolution, miniſter of a pariſh in Galloway, in Scotland, and afterwards rector in the county of Fermanagh, in Ireland. Among other good qualities, this gentleman was a very facetious perſon; and by his preſence of mind, in making uſe of this talent, he had the good fortune to ſave both his life and goods, from the fury of thoſe godly men, who then thought all things their own. When they broke into the houſe, he was in bed; and ſitting up in his ſhirt, deſired leave to ſpeak a few words before he died; which (I cannot tell how it happened) they granted, and he ſpoke to this effect; "That he had always prayed to God, he might "die in his bed; adding that he had in his houſe "as good ale and brandy as was in all Scotland; "and therefore hoped the worthy gentlemen would "do him the honour to drink with him, before "they did any thing raſhly."

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This facetious ſpeech, which they little expected from him in the article of ſo much danger as then threatened him, had the luck to divert them from their bloody purpoſe, and to make them comply with his requeſt: ſo that after drinking plentifully, they ſaid he was a hearty cheel; and left him in quiet poſſeſſion of his houſe and goods. But he durſt not truſt his talent to another trial, leſt the next company might not be influenced as this firſt had been; and therefore, as ſoon as it was day, made off, with his family and effects, in the beſt manner he could; and reſted not until he was ſafe in Ireland.

I could not forbear relating theſe ſtories, from the gentlemen's own mouths, as I might do others of the ſame kind, upon my own knowledge; although they are contradictory to what the preachers of the new eſtabliſhed kirk have ſo confidently given out. They would fain have the world believe, that they ſhewed great indulgence to the epiſcopal clergy, at the Revolution, and for ſeveral years after. But they muſt grant me and others leave not to believe them: nor ought they to be angry, if I give the reader a farther idea of them, and of the ſpirit that reigned in the ſynods, conventions, or general aſſemblies, of their kirk.

During my confinement in the tolbooth, a general aſſembly was called; to which my lord Lothian, as I was informed afterwards, was ſent commiſſioner from king William. His lordſhip's inſtructions were, to ſignify to them the king's deſire, that

that as many of the epiſcopal clergy as would take the oath of allegiance to him might keep poſſeſſion of their ſeveral pariſhes. To this the members anſwered in a diſdainful manner, " What! ſhall " we ſuffer any ſcabbed ſheep among us? Na, na, " nat ane;" and thereupon ſent two of their brethren to king William, who was then in Flanders, to move him for more favours to the kirk, and power farther to oppreſs the epiſcopal clergy. But that prince told them, in plain terms, that he had been impoſed upon, in granting to the kirk the favours ſhe had already got; and withall commanded them to let the general aſſembly know, that it was his will and pleaſure, that they ſhould live peaceably with thoſe who were willing to live ſo with them; otherwiſe he would make them know, that he was their maſter.

With this unwelcome anſwer from king William, the two ſpiritual envoys returned to thoſe who ſent them; and at the ſame time, or ſoon after, the prince diſpatched an order to the commiſſioner to diſſolve the aſſembly, if he found them perſiſting in their ſeverity towards the epiſcopal clergy.

As ſoon as the legates delivered the meſſage, all in the aſſembly began to ſpeak out with the greateſt boldneſs imaginable; ſaying, " That the king durſt " not have ſent them ſuch an anſwer, if he had " not an army at his back." Whereupon the commiſſioner diſſolved the ſynod; and, in the king's name, commanded all the members to depart to their ſeveral homes.

But

But, inſtead of obeying that order, they all went in a body, with that poor weak creature the lord Crawford at their head, to the market-croſs; and there publiſhed a proteſtation, declaring, that the king had no authority in church affairs, nor any right to diſſolve their general aſſembly.

I relate this ſtory as it was told me, not only to give the reader an idea of the ſpirit that reigned in that kirk, eſtabliſhed now in Scotland, as I have ſaid, but likewiſe to do juſtice to the memory of king William, which may be the more acceptable, as coming from one who was in a contrary intereſt. And, indeed, I have ſo good an opinion of that prince, as to believe he would have acted much better than he did, with regard to the civil and eccleſiaſtical conſtitution in Scotland, if he had been permitted to govern by his own opinions.

But now to come to the concluſion of my ſtory. The * Hollantide after I arrived in Ireland, my wife and two daughters followed me; and we ſettled in the county of Tyrone, with my father (who died two years afterwards) on a ſmall freehold; where I made a hard ſhift to maintain them, with induſtry and even manual labour, for about twelve years, till my wife died, and my daughters were married, which happened not very long after I became a widower.

I am at preſent in the eighty-third year of my age; ſtill hated by thoſe people who affirm the old covenanters to have been unjuſtly dealt with; and

* The feaſt of all ſaints.

therefore

therefore believe a great number of improbable ſtories concerning me; as that I was a common murderer of them and their preachers, with many other falſe and improbable ſtories. But the reader, I hope, from whom I have not concealed any one tranſaction or adventure that happened to me among thoſe rebellious people, or miſrepreſented the leaſt circumſtance, as far as my memory could ſerve me; will judge whether he has reaſon to believe me to have been ſuch a perſon as they repreſented me; and to hate me, as they do, upon that account. And my comfort is, that I can appeal from their unjuſt tribunal, to the mercy of God; before whom, by the courſe of nature, I muſt ſoon appear; who knows the integrity of my heart and that my actions (condemned by them) were, as far as my underſtanding could direct me, meant for the good of the church, and the ſervice of my king and country.

And although ſuch people hate me becauſe they give credit to the falſe reports raiſed concerning me; another comfort left me in my old age is, that I have conſtantly preſerved (and ſtill do ſo) the love and eſteem of all honeſt and good men, to whom I have had the happineſs at any time to be known.

JOHN CREICHTON.

END OF THE TENTH VOLUME.

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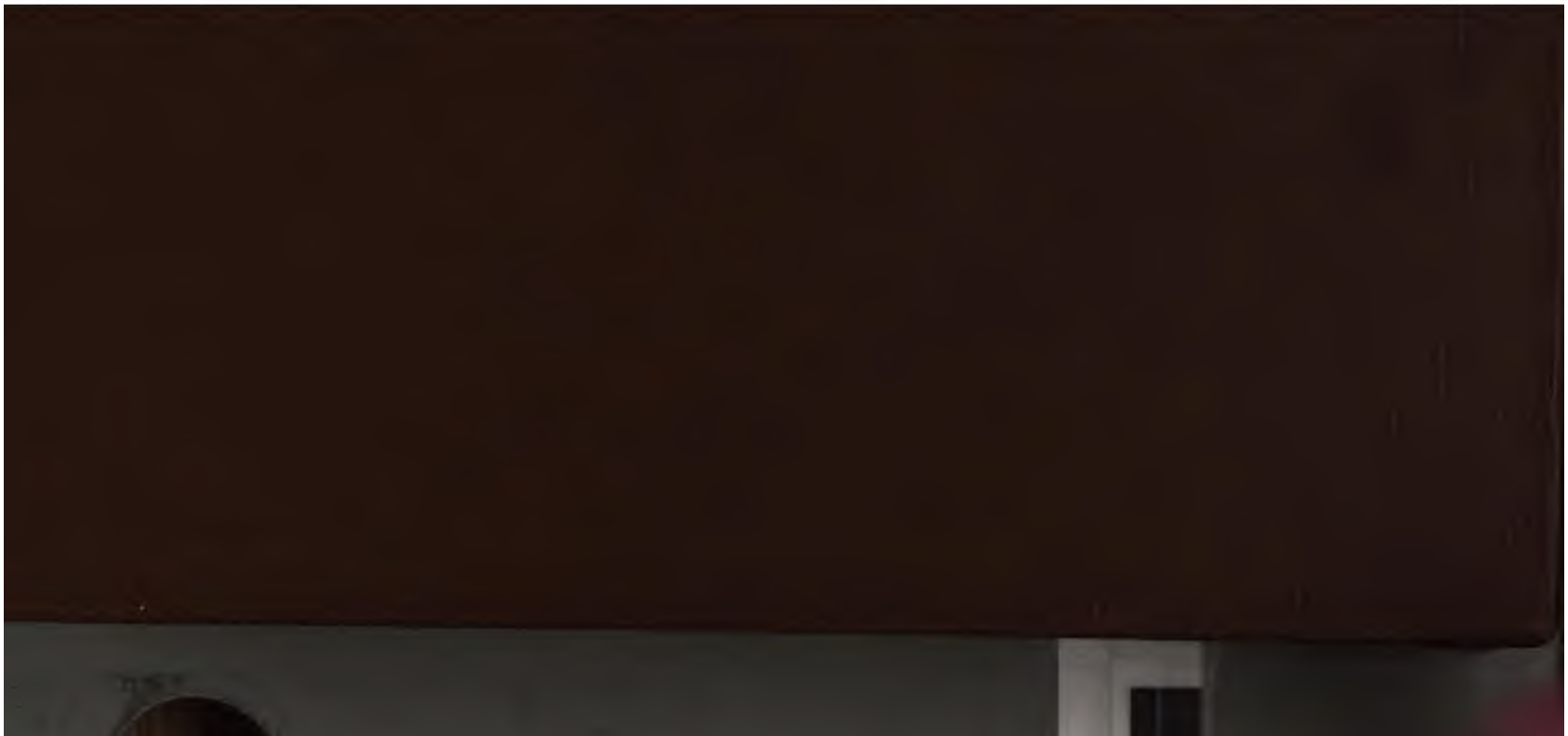
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